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ABSTRACT

This study examines how the values and value orientations derived fro two differing, historical traditions influence the formal education of adolescent boys attending an Orthodox Jewish day school in Melbourne, Australia. The two traditions include the Chassidic variant of the great tradition of Orthodox Judaism and the Australian adaptation of the English secular academic tradition. A fundamental dualism dominates the school in the form of two almost separate enculturation matrices between which the students move daily. The contrasts between the value orientations produce an identifiable dissonance in the boys' cognitions about their life worlds. This affects their interpersonal behavior in teaching-learning interaction settings making them prone to hyperactivity, anxiety, tension, conflict, and even aggression. Sociological explanations suggest that the differing social constructions of learning in the two traditions interact to frustrate the boys' needs to learn. Countervailing influences and enculturation interference from the school's structural-organizational and epistemological dualism make the students' reality constructions problematical which in turn hamper their ability to learn. (Author/DE)

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MONASH UNIVERSITY

COMPETING VALUES AND TRADITIONS IN AN ORTHODOX JEWISH DAY SCHOOL:
A STUDY OF ENCULTURATION DISSONANCE

BRIAN MILTON BULLIVANT

I.E.T.C. (Lond.), B.A., F.R.G.S.

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF ARTS IN
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

FEBRUARY 1975

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SUMMARY OF THESIS

This study aimed to explore how the values and value orientations derived from two, differing historical traditions influence the formal education of adolescent boys attending an Orthodox Jewish Day School in Melbourne, Australia. It was anticipated that contrasts between the values and value orientations would produce identifiable dissonance in boys' cognitions about their life worlds.

The writer undertook fifteen months ethnographic research as a part-time teacher at the school, using partial participant observation, non-reactive, unobtrusive measures and projective techniques. Unexpected data necessitated retroductive reformulation of the original general orientation, and *post factum* development of heuristic paradigms to explain their paradoxical features through a grounded theory approach.

The concept of enculturation is employed for the on-going, problematical yet categorical process, whereby the child constructs a view of the self and objective reality, through reciprocated interaction with symbolic and extra-symbolic stimuli in a variety of formal and informal socio-spatial contexts or enculturation matrices provided by his cultural group and habitat. The Jewish school is conceptualised as a formal enculturation matrix, which partially influences the enculturation of its adolescent pupils. Its validating ideology is traced historically to the *Chabad*-Chassidic (Lubavitcher) variant of the Great Tradition of Orthodox Judaism, and the Australian adaptation of the Arnoldian Academic Tradition.

Two sets of ideal values are established more precisely by content analysis of the charters and other literature relating to the two traditions, using an ideal-type, six category typology of value orientations, and are assumed to provide the ideational basis for the school's social organization of tradition. Ethnographically, they are shown to determine its structure and organization, timetabling, selection of knowledge in the curriculum, rituals and ceremonial activities. A fundamental dualism dominates the school in the form of two, almost separate enculturation matrices between which boys move daily.

Boys' constructions of their future occupations and themselves as Jews; their relationships with peers and school authority figures; their views of its social network of wider community links, all point to a paradoxical feature of their enculturation. Although boys have a high degree of need achievement (*n*Ach), value learning and the school's intellectual life and religiosity, i.e. its eidos, their interpersonal behaviour in teaching-learning interaction settings is prone to hyperactivity, anxiety, tension, conflict and even aggression. When this is directed against secular and religious teachers it is dysfunctional for effective learning. Such behaviour is significantly different from the general ethos of the school and behaviour outside teaching-learning interaction settings.

Comparative data suggest that such behaviour is symptomatic of stress and neuroses among Jews, and could result from parental pressures or minority group status. Preferred sociological explanations suggest that the differing social constructions of learning in the two traditions interact to frustrate boys' needs to learn. Countervailing influences and enculturation interference from the school's structural-organizational and epistemological dualism make boys' reality construction unusually problematical at the conscious level, and hamper successful deutero-learning at the unconscious level. These phenomena are formulated as a general theory of enculturation dissonance.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

B.M. Bullivant

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In a study of this type, no list of acknowledgements would be complete without reference to the Principal, staff and boys of the school. Their participation in its life was the raw material for the thesis. It is as much a small tribute to those who are endeavouring to preserve *Yiddishkeit* in an indifferent and occasionally hostile world, as it is an attempt to apply a number of social science disciplines to the analysis of a unique educational institution.

In a civilization there is a great tradition of the reflective few, and there is a little tradition of the largely unreflective many. The great tradition is cultivated in schools or temples; the little tradition works itself out and keeps itself going in the lives of the unlettered in their village communities. The tradition of the philosopher, theologian, and literary man is a tradition consciously cultivated and handed down; that of the little people is for the most part taken for granted and not submitted to much scrutiny or considered refinement and improvement.

Robert Redfield

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

(1) The historical context of the study

This account of boys' reality construction in an Orthodox Jewish Day School owes much to relatively recent developments in both the sociology of education and educational anthropology. They provide the 'historical context' of the study, from which have been drawn the 'approach paradigms' that have informed it throughout (Bernstein, 1972: 99). It seems appropriate to outline them briefly to provide an orientation to the theoretical basis of the thesis' substantive content and the research methodology by which it was acquired.

During the 1950's and 1960's in Great Britain and the U.S.A., the primary concern of the sociology of education was with organizational and structural aspects of schooling, the social factors influencing children's measured intelligence, and their relation to scholastic achievement or educational deprivation (e.g. Halsey, Floud & Anderson, 1961; Musgrave, 1965; Banks, 1968). As Musgrave has commented (1974: 37), it was a period of 'political arithmetic' studies of education. It also saw a limited number of sociological and socio-psychological studies of schools *per se* in broadly structural-functional terms, and utilizing quantitative rather than qualitative research methodology (e.g. Fichter, 1958; Hargreaves, 1967; King, 1969).

The second major approach to the sociology of education arose in the mid-sixties, and was stimulated by new sociological perspectives in the U.S.A., which were phenomenological, symbolic-interactionist, and ethnomethodological in orientation. In consequence, sociology of education in Great Britain and, more recently, in Australia has begun to emphasize questions concerning the construction of social reality out of negotiated encounters with others, with particular reference to what counts for educational knowledge in schools. As Bernstein has suggested (op. cit., p. 103): 'It would not be too much to say that the emphasis was shifting from the organizational structure of schools to an emphasis upon what was to be taught'. This has resulted in the sociology of knowledge assuming strategic importance in the thinking of those who follow this second approach, as exemplified by writings such as those of Young in Great Britain (1971) and Musgrave in Australia (1973, 1974). This thesis is wedded more to the second, rather than first, major approach.

To establish the 'content' of what is taught in the Jewish Day School and its validating systems of value orientations, I have had recourse to educational anthropology. Like the sociology of education, this discipline has only assumed importance in the 1960's and 1970's. Prior to this period, in Erikson's succinct opinion (1965: 105), child training has tended to be an 'anthropological no-man's land'. Two major approaches have coloured educational anthropology in the U.S.A. The first, as exemplified by the Six Cultures Series of child-rearing studies (Whiting, 1963), has employed Freudian and psychoanalytical hypotheses and thinking to interpret differences in personality that result from different modes of child-rearing, patterns of values, and preferences in different communities. The ethnographic approach used in this thesis is characteristic of a more recent series of case studies in education and culture under the general editorship of George and Louise Spindler (e.g. Warren, 1967; Wolcott, 1967; Singleton, 1967; Hostetler & Huntingdon, 1971). Each study is basically descriptive, and emphasizes the educational process in its cultural setting. Particular attention is paid to the interaction between those engaged in the educational events, their thinking and feeling, and the content of the process of education.

Many of the concepts, and emphasis on a cultural approach to my study also receive support from a growing body of literature relating to more theoretical issues in educational anthropology. Like the case studies above, the stimulus for these has come from the U.S.A., and suggests that a gradual evolution of consensus about an approach paradigm is occurring. The major thrust of this development has come from such theorists as Spindler (1963, 1974), Kneller (1965), Wax, Diamond and Gearing (1971). Culture, values, education (variously conceptualized as socialization or enculturation or both), the transmission of cultural tradition, and the problems of educating children from ethnic and racial backgrounds have been some of the central concerns. The majority have informed my thinking both in this thesis and other contributions to the growing corpus of educational anthropology (Bullivant, 1972, 1973a, 1974b).

In contrast to the ferment that has characterized the development of approach paradigms in the sociology of education and educational anthropology, education as an institution has received relatively little attention among social anthropologists in Great Britain. Some impetus has been developed since the publication of the A.S.A. Monograph *Socialization: The Approach from Social Anthropology* (Mayer, 1970), but the narrow conceptualization of education as socialization has been of limited use for this thesis. Of more relevance is the discussion by Richards indicating growing awareness of the importance of value systems, world views and cosmologies, and systems of knowledge; and Jahoda's hopes of a possible rapprochement between social anthropology and psychology (ibid., pp. 1-49). His suggestion that one fruitful area of anthropological exploration might be into the relationship between 'achievement motivation' (*n*Ach) and social structure has born fruit in the explanations offered in Part Four of this thesis.

Its historical context is thus a coalescence of many of the concepts and theoretical orientations referred to above. As far as the thesis has been concerned, they have been ideas come into their time - to paraphrase Victor Hugo. The thesis is theoretically and conceptually eclectic, and may even be seen as an attempt to devise a further approach paradigm of specific relevance and use for studies of schools. Its explanations and theory of enculturation dissonance proposed in Part Four also reflect a further development in approach paradigms through the use of *inductive* 'grounded theory' suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967). In Filstead's opinion (1970: 2) this is more productive of explanatory schemes of human behaviour than the 'villain [which] is deductive theory, with its labyrinth of various logical, mathematical, and technical paraphernalia'.

Bernstein has also commented on changes in research methodology coinciding with the development of the second of the theoretical approaches discussed above (1972: 104). The major technique for studies of macro-structural relationships (the first approach in the sociology of education) was 'the social survey or enquiries based on large populations by means of the closed questionnaire, the second approach favours case studies of ongoing activities in which participant observation, the tape recorder and video machines play an important role in the construction of close ethnographic descriptions'. Although I was limited in the technical apparatus I could use in the field, the research for my thesis followed this latter orientation. My research techniques and some of the problems I encountered are discussed in Appendix 1.

Coupled with the quest for more effective and appropriate research techniques for use in cultural anthropology (Naroll & Cohen, 1970), there has developed, in the U.S.A. at least, a self-conscious concern to make explicit the successes and shortcomings of one's research in the field 'warts and all' (Spindler, 1970; Kimball & Watson, 1972). Some of my own problems and shortcomings will be implicit in the body of the thesis itself. In Appendix 1, I follow the current trend in cultural anthropology by examining a number of issues, which seem particularly relevant for those who may wish to undertake comparable ethnographic studies of schools. In particular, I take up the issue of matching one's research methodology with the theoretical approach paradigm, which one adopts to order and explain data. It seems inconsistent otherwise to become wedded to the second of the theoretical approaches discussed by Bernstein, without also following its concomitant types of fieldwork techniques.

(2) Ethnographic studies of schools in Australia

(a) The background

Of potential interest for the sociology of education and educational anthropology are those relatively small, self-contained, denominational schools, which exist parallel to, but independently of, the State education system in Australia. Such schools attempt to promote a form of education based on a religious ideology. However, with the possible exception of Hansen's (1971) study of six major Independent schools in Victoria, there have been no detailed *ethnographic* accounts of small, denominational schools. Lacunae in this area of research may reflect not only pre-occupation of most workers with 'political arithmetic' considerations (e.g. Fensham, 1970; Katz & Browne, 1970), but also very slow recognition that an ethnographic approach to research can be as productive as quantitative methods.

Some attention has been paid to the saliency of values and value systems in the education of ethnic groups (Watts, 1970), and in the peer group and adolescent contexts (Campbell & McSweeney, 1970; McSweeney, 1970). However, the influence of a socio-cultural group's value orientations on how a school under its aegis selects and organizes the transmission of tradition, and the resultant constructions of reality achieved by its pupils has been a neglected area of research, despite the theoretical links between value systems and education noted by such writers as Dahlke (1958), Honigmann (1959), and Spindler (1963).

My general orientation in research is motivated by the desire to explore the implications of these theoretical aspects of schooling. It endeavours to take up the challenge implicit in Young's expectation (1965: 52) 'that some of the most rewarding research in the next quarter of a century will be anthropological in inspiration - small-scale intensive studies of individual schools and classrooms, and the richness of human relationships within them'. Hopefully, this thesis will make some contribution to filling the lacunae in such studies, and to the newly-emergent theoretical and methodological approaches discussed above.

(b) The subject of research

Lubavitcher School is one of six full-time Jewish day schools in Victoria. At the time of the fifteen months fieldwork undertaken during 1969 and early 1970 it had a total enrolment of 259 pupils in primary and secondary Grades. The name adopted for the school is a pseudonym to accede to the Principal's request that I should preserve relative anonymity about the school and its location. The latter has similarly not been identified precisely, and is strictly not germane to the thesis. It is in a residential area some six miles from Melbourne's central business district, and is of predominantly affluent, middle- to upper-class socio-economic status. It houses some sixty five percent of Melbourne's Jewish population.

The selection of the school as a subject for research was due to a combination of purposeful and fortuitous circumstances. Firstly, the study takes forward a library-based, cross-cultural survey of the socialization of children in a number of small communities, pre-literate socio-cultural groups and ethnic minorities within wider societies (Bullivant, 1968). The focal interest of that survey was the processes by which the groups' values and value orientations are transmitted formally and informally to each generation of children. Of immediate relevance for this thesis was the finding that a form of dissonance or value conflict results in situations where indigenous system values confront macro-system values. The dissonance appears to adversely affect the child's socialization and the cohesion of his socio-cultural group.

It was decided to test the wider applicability of this finding in what could be a paradigm case, namely a school run by a group holding to strong values and value orientations, yet subjected to differing orientations from the wider society. A number of suitable ethnic communities was considered. After failing to establish a viable research relationship with the first school selected, due to its 'closed' nature and lack of suitable subjects I could teach, I approached the Principal of the Lubavitcher School, initially through correspondence, and followed up by telephone conversations. The former was supported by references to several Jewish teaching and educational research colleagues known to the Principal to establish my *bona fide*: although the added precaution may not have been needed. An interview was obtained at which I outlined my hopes of conducting research at the school.

The fortuitous circumstance which confirmed my choice of the school for research was the offer of a senior teaching position there under circumstances which would provide me with some opportunities to carry out research, but which were also subject to certain conditions. The Principal requested that research should be conducted as discreetly as possible, and that my ulterior motive for being at the school should not be disclosed to the boys. He also asked that the name and location of the school should not be made explicit in any ensuing publication, and requested to see any references to him personally. He also offered to read and check the accuracy of my descriptions of the religious background and life of the school, if I cared to submit them to him.

All these conditions have been complied with to the fullest possible extent. I am grateful for the advice about the school's religious policy that I was given, and my acknowledgements are recorded above and at points throughout the body of the thesis. Parts of my description of the school's origin and religious curriculum have been submitted to both the Principal and the Director of Religious Studies. I prefer to assume that their lack of reply or any comment on what I have written reflects its accuracy rather than any ulterior reason, although I appreciate the heavy demands on time both are experiencing.

(3) Research design

(a) Original aims and instruments

The original aim of the research was to conduct an exploratory study of boys' attitudes and values using a battery of research instruments of the kind developed *inter alia* by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Dawson (1969a, 1969b), and the research team undertaking the 1966-67 Jewish Community Survey (Medding, 1973: 270-291). I planned to supplement selected questions from these instruments by a revised version of an attitude inventory developed and tested in previous research at an Independent, denominational girls school in Melbourne. Through these measures I hoped to establish what values and attitudes the boys held about their religion and the wider Jewish community, and the influence on these of the values from the wider 'secular' community.

However, it was obvious almost from the outset that this type of research could not be conducted with the discretion insisted upon by the Principal, although it might be possible to use some instruments once I had become established in the school, and had shown that I could be trusted. Similar problems have been discussed by Hargreaves in a closely comparable school-based study (1967: 193). But even these hopes received a further setback some three or four weeks after I had started teaching. This was a bland request from the Principal that I should not question the boys about their religious beliefs, as he had been told, but should approach him for information instead. In fact, the information he had received was not strictly correct. I had not been questioning the boys, but was not averse to listening when they spontaneously broached religious topics, and by my actions had indicated that I was very interested in Judaism and their beliefs. By this point, however, it was obvious that the relatively conventional, quasi-experimental research design I had hoped to employ was entirely out of the question and had to be abandoned, although my interest in the boys' religious beliefs still remained. Data about them were obtained through unobtrusive measures and more discreet means.

The limitations placed upon me indicated considerable sensitivity on the part of the Principal and those boys, who presumably had complained to him, about being 'studied'. They also illustrated the speed of the 'grapevine' within the school, which was to become very apparent as the study progressed, and how quickly boys could gain access to the Principal. In addition, these aspects were, in themselves, not insignificant evidence of some of the attitudes held by a number at the school. They indicated that my approach to the research had to be radically modified if I was to have any hope of achieving even a part of my objectives.

(b) Modifications due to constraints in the field

Although I had not set out with a major hypothesis, my dilemma was similar to that discussed by Strodtbeck (1964: 223-9), who points out that an elaboration (in my case virtually a major reconstruction) of an original hypothesis in the form of retroduction is almost inevitable in a situation where fresh or unexpected data compel the observer to take new directions in the field. It was obvious that I would have to abide by the Principal's request, and be even more discreet than I had anticipated when I accepted the position. Research techniques, which would not arouse anxiety, would have to be chosen, and more reliance would have to be placed on the type of partial participant observation employed in studies of organizations such as those reported by Becker *et al* (1961), Goffman (1961), Ball (1970) and others. The use of 'classical' anthropological participant observation with the assistance of one or more informants was obviously out of the question. In any case, it would not be appropriate as my contacts with the school would necessarily fluctuate due to my teaching timetable and commitments elsewhere.

It still seemed possible to obtain data on values and attitudes, despite all the restrictions I would be faced with. Kluckhohn has suggested (1951: 404) that the observer can look for explicit evidence of approval or disapproval expressed towards acts and conduct. Such evidence may take the form of strong emotional responses in those observed towards certain acts or group problems. Whether it relates to an individual or a group, evidence of 'differential effort exhibited towards the attainment of an end, access to a means, or acquisition of a mode of behaviour' means values are involved and can be observed and inferred by the research worker. Consistently chosen courses of action in situations where an individual or a group is faced with making a choice out of several possible solutions to a life problem are also data and accessible to the observer.

(4) Theoretical modifications and conceptual outcomes

The effect of the enforced modifications to the research design was to direct attention to a wider theoretical orientation for the study, which would make it both more feasible and also easier to execute. It can be conceptualized that a school functions as a formal mediator of tradition, i.e. the valued knowledge, values, beliefs and ideas brought forward from the historical past of the group the school serves. Elements of tradition are selected in the light of the 'master templates', value orientations, or world view to which the group subscribes. These elements of tradition and their validating value orientations can be reconstructed in ideal type terms by the observer, through content analysis of the body of literature or formal 'charter' to which the group subscribes. The school effects the 'social organization of tradition' (Redfield, 1956: 44 ff.). Systematic observations of its operations over a yearly cycle provide data on their degree of correspondence with the reconstructions of traditional elements. Pupils' constructions of reality can also be directly observed, or inferred from verbal and non-verbal behaviours. These will give some indication of the degree to which tradition is being accepted unquestioningly or modified in the way discussed by Smolicz (1974a; 1974b), and will provide some evidence to indicate how problematical pupils' reality construction is.

The outcome of this theoretical orientation in the case of Lubavitcher School was to suggest that it serves two social groups: those comprising its Orthodox Jewish adherents and their tradition, and the wider, urban society within which the school is located. The latter adheres to a more diffuse, though still distinguishable educational tradition. For ease of reference, I refer to these as the Great Tradition of Orthodox Judaism and the Academic Tradition of the Victorian education system. What follows in the thesis is an attempt to follow through the logical development of these theoretical ideas.

In Part One, schooling is conceptualized as a process of enculturation within an enculturation matrix through which the developing child is assisted to construct reality. The historical roots of the two traditions influencing the school are established, and their elements are extracted from their respective bodies of literature through content analysis utilizing a typology of categories of value orientations drawn up for the purposes of this study.

In Part Two, the suggestion of Redfield is taken up (1956: 56) that it is possible to study and describe 'those activities and personnel that exist for the purpose of communicating the great tradition'. Lubavitcher School is described ethnographically as enabling the 'social organization of tradition'. The difficulties of maintaining an objective stance, and the weaknesses of the observer's 'reconstructed logic' of others' behaviours are taken into account at this point, and receive more detailed consideration in Appendix 1 which describes the meta-method and problematics of the research employed in this study. In particular, it sees the research worker as a type of 'boundary patroller' by logical extension of Kai Erikson's ideas (1962).

Part Three describes as much of the boys' own constructions of reality as could be ascertained by a variety of unobtrusive measures, thematic apperception tests, and similar projective techniques. These are described in detail, and their shortcomings discussed in Appendix 1. The underlying rationale of this Part is to obtain something of the 'inner logic' of the boys' interactions with the school enculturation matrix and its bodies of knowledge, i.e. their constructions of reality. Although ethnography is employed in Part Two, it is in Part Three that the study comes closest to being anthropological. Its central aim is to arrive at what Pouwer has referred to as the 'inner perspective of human reality' (1968): in his opinion this is the major *raison d'être* for the continued existence of anthropology.

The various conceptual outcomes and threads of analysis in Parts Two and Three suggest that the school has an eidos and ethos (Bateson, 1958: 118, 220), which are distinctive and, to some extent, paradoxical. The eidos of the school is bound up with respect for learning, intense intellectual activity and religiosity, and is quite compatible with the ideology and value orientations of both Traditions. The ethos, on the other hand, shows a blend of paradoxical behaviours on the part of the boys. Outside the classroom and other teaching-learning situations within the school campus, they are excitable but friendly and informal in their approaches to both religious and secular staff. Inside the classroom, however, behaviours can be violent, anxious, hyperactive, and conflict-prone, both between boys and their peers, and between boys and teaching staff in the religious and secular domains. Such behaviour is incompatible with the ideology of the school, and is of a kind that calls for explanation.

Part Four attempts to account for the paradox in a number of ways. Sociologically, it is shown that a fundamental duality exists within the school. It is, in fact, two enculturation matrices, each of which competes for boys' allegiance, time and effort. Epistemological dualism exacerbates the problematical nature of reality construction, and hypothetically results in boys becoming frustrated. Psychological pressures on the boys can be identified, which have their origins in tensions in the home and the wider Jewish community. These also can be held to contribute to the boys' seemingly pathological behaviour.

Neither of the above explanatory theories fully accounts for all the factors involved in the eidos-ethos paradox, and a supplementary explanation is suggested in terms of a theory of enculturation dissonance. This stresses the fundamental importance of deutero-learning in the boys' lives, and suggests that they are being frustrated at this higher level of enculturation, with consequent anxiety, conflict-tension, and violence. These are culturally-specific ways of reacting to stress among Jews according to a number of research workers. Pupils from other cultural backgrounds placed in similar situations may react to stress in a manner which is appropriate to their cultures. In consequence the theory of enculturation dissonance may have general applicability to studies of schools and educational systems in pluralist societies.

(5) The methodological and theoretical validity of the study

The study represents a departure from the orthodoxy of a linear, hypothetico-deductive, experimental research design. This was partly unintentional, due to the constraints put on using overt interview and questionnaire techniques, and partly intentional. It must be seriously questioned whether the observer's reconstruction of reality in an ethnographical study can be other than a dialectical process, akin to the nature of the social process itself. The reasons for holding to this position are discussed in Appendix 1.

Similar reasons can be put forward for the methodological eclecticism of the study. The research design cannot claim strict adherence to any one of the social science approach paradigms, as it drew upon sociology, social psychology, anthropology, history, and even geography. It is inter-disciplinary and qualitative: an approach which 'allows the researcher to "get close to the data", thereby developing the analytical, conceptual, and categorical components of explanation from the data itself - rather than from the preconceived, rigidly structured, and highly quantified techniques that pigeonhole the empirical social world into the operational definitions that the researcher has constructed' (Filstead, 1970: 6).

Such an approach may render data themselves problematical, but considerable confidence may be held in their validity on a number of grounds. The study was conducted over a period of nearly fifteen months, which is long enough to allow for considerable, though not total, immersion in data. Through the amount of observation, discreet questioning, and direct experience achieved in that period, exhaustion of domains of meaning resulted along lines suggested in the grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967). By the end of the fieldwork, I was finding no new data, but only information that confirmed those I had received at earlier points in research. The types of data themselves were mutually supportive, with a high degree of collateral 'data triangulation' (Webb *et al*, 1966: 3). Confirmation of this nature was achieved by multi-operational research techniques and instruments, viz. 'classical' field notebook and other written records backed by a variety of unobtrusive measures described in Appendix 1. It was also realised that the 'research act' of the observer himself injects unknown qualities into the total field situation (Young, 1965: 13; Bruyn, 1970; Denzin, 1972). I monitored my own reactions to the tensions of fieldwork by consciously recording my own 'personal equation' and its possible biases (Nadel, 1951: 48), and through regular discussions with a leading psychiatrist with an extensive clientele of Jews in Melbourne. On more than one occasion his advice made me see my reactions to the pressures of fieldwork in an objective light, and reduced the risk of them contaminating data.

Theoretically, the study is one in grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1968; Brown, 1973). Conceptual closure was delayed as long as possible during fieldwork, but once having left the school it was clear that considerable refinement of the theoretical framework and general orientation which had guided me initially was necessary. As Brown has commented (1973: 12): 'This kind of methodological rescue operation is sometimes possible'. It entailed the formulation of both the enculturation matrix model and the typology of value orientations which are the major 'constructed types' that have enabled me to order much of my data and facilitate some of the generalizations I have made (Becker, 1945; Theodorson & Theodorson, 1970: 74-5). The logical reason for adopting this procedure was the realization that the research would only achieve a satisfactory explanation of data if it resulted in a grounded, middle-range theory. However, its degree of explanatory and predictive power is open to question. As Merton has commented (1957: 93): '*Post factum* explanations remain at the level of plausibility (low evidential value) rather than leading to "compelling evidence" (a high degree of confirmation)'.

The success of an enterprise conducted in the way that has been outlined in this Introduction depends not so much on its 'scientific' respectability, as the degree to which it commands the reader's assent to the explanations offered, as Redfield has suggested (1956: 70). It is also important that the observer has 'trust in [his] own credible knowledge' (Glaser & Strauss, 1970: 294). Humanistic research must inevitably produce an account in which there is a blend of the objective and subjective (Redfield, 1956: 136):

> There is no one ultimate and utterly objective account of a human whole. Each account, if it preserves the human quality at all, is a created product in which the human qualities of the creator - the outside viewer and describer - are one ingredient.

The observer may never know the depth to which he has been able to achieve an 'inner view'. He gains in confidence and assurance if he is told. In what follows, I describe a unique school and community, although to protect it I have chosen to suppress much data that would enhance the quality of the description, and thus increase its power of commanding the reader's assent. I do not feel that this is the ultimate test, however, and prefer to place more faith in the judgement of a member of the school itself. As I entered the *shul* (synagogue) to participate in the ritual welcome of a new *Sefer Torah* (Scroll of the Law) in the later stages of fieldwork, I bumped into one of the teaching rabbis. With an 'outside' observer's innate caution, I asked him whether I was permitted to watch. 'Of course, of course', came his instant reply, accompanied by a warm handclasp. 'Come right in, of course you can see: you are one of us, one of the community now'.

(6) A note on orthography

Following anthropological convention this account is written in the 'ethnographic present', except where the use of the past tense is both logically and stylistically warranted, as in historical analysis of the history of Chassidism and the value orientations of the traditions. The transliteration of Hebrew and Yiddish in these and other sections of the thesis presents orthographic problems, as there are several ways of writing anglicized versions of these languages. It has not been possible to be absolutely consistent in the spelling, as different versions appear even in such literature as that issued to parents of boys at the school, where one might have expected consistency. In such cases, the original versions have been retained. This practice has also been adopted for words quoted from literary sources, even where they conflict with another version as used at the school. Because of their different backgrounds, some boys used different pronunciations of common terms, and these have been represented as spoken. They are primary data, and, as such, should be recorded faithfully.

For other terms I have adopted a number of conventions. The Ashkenazic (East European) spelling is used and not the Sephardic (Mediterranean) version. Hebrew and Yiddish words are written phonetically to assist pronunciation, e.g. *shul* (Yid.) pronounced 'shool', rather than *schul* (Yid.) to avoid confusion with the English school, and its *sk* pronunciation. The Hebrew *th* is pronounced *s*. Thus I have written *Succos* for *Succoth*. Consistency has been abandoned where writing a term as pronounced at the school would produce a clumsy departure from the accepted and familiar spelling, e.g. *Rosh Hashanah*.

One Hebrew and Yiddish sound needs special mention. This is designated by phoneticists as *kh*, as in the Scottish *loch* or the German *ach*. This is a combination of the glottal stop of *k* immediately followed by an aspired *h*. I have used *ch* to indicate this sound rather than *kh*, because *k* might confuse the English reader into producing the hard sound. In addition, *ch* appears in so much Chassidic literature that a departure from this form seems unwarranted. Inconsistencies in spelling may be noted. These arise from using Yiddish or Hebrew interchangeably, or where a quoted passage adopts a different style from that employed throughout the thesis.

Biblical, Talmudic and related rabbinical citations generally follow the style used in *The Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Religion* (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965). The former are set out conventionally in abbreviated roman type. Sub-divisions of Talmud (orders, tractates, chapters) are abbreviated in italics. Talmud is the comprehensive term usually employed for the Mishnah and *Gemara*. It is a vast compilation of the discussion, commentary, and interpretation of the Written Law, i.e. Scripture (*Torah*), which developed in the scholarly academies over the eight centuries since the time of Moses. Mishnah (Heb. 'teaching') is more of a textbook than a code and gives the essence of the Oral Law in six orders (Heb. *sedarim*). Other material was collected in a supplementary work, *Tosephta* (Heb. 'supplement'). *Gemara* (Heb. 'completion') is the complement to the Mishnah and records in orders, tractates and chapters the discussion focussed on it.

PART ONE

ENCULTURATION, SCHOOLING AND THE TWO TRADITIONS

CHAPTER 2

SCHOOL AS THE LOCUS OF FORMAL ENCULTURATION

The ubiquity of schools and schooling in all but a few preliterate societies has resulted in a variety of taken-for-granted assumptions about their function, only lately being challenged by microethnographic, anthropological, and sociological research and theory (e.g. Jackson, 1968; Keddie, 1971, 1973; Postman & Weingartner, 1971; Smith, 1967; Wax *et al*, 1971; Young, 1971). One such misconception has been noted by La Belle (1972: 519): 'We have been accustomed to viewing education as an institutional outcome, something which results from attending a school. Thus experiences which occur outside of school become, in terms of sociocultural expectations, non-sanctioned learnings'. Not only is this an inadequate view of the child's total development, but it confines the meaning of education to the commonsense types of activities that are conventionally meant by schooling. As the following analysis attempts to show, school is a locus for what can be termed the child's *formal enculturation*: this process has far wider connotations than commonsense notions of schooling. The concept of enculturation, and the heuristic model of the enculturation matrix developed from it, are central to the analysis of the Orthodox Jewish school in this thesis.

(1) An eclectic model of the education process

The education process has traditionally concerned theorists in the spheres of philosophy, history, and psychology: those in sociology and anthropology are relative newcomers to the field. Members of each sphere have been committed to similar rules of procedure and standards, i.e. to 'shared paradigms' (Kuhn, 1962: 10-11), which have delimited their legitimate areas of concern with education. The tendency for bodies of knowledge to be surrounded by 'borders' or 'boundaries' and guarded by 'sentries' (Holzner, 1972: 168) has led to paradigms being regarded by their adherents as exclusive properties. Inter-sphere debate in the field of education has tended to be polemical and concerned with validating the legitimacy of the paradigm, rather than constructive and aimed at exploring the possibility of integrating paradigms to focus on a specific problem.

A notable exception to this tendency is the discussion of Richards and Jahoda (1970: 1-49) relating to the process of socialization, which hitherto has been treated differently by psychologists and social anthropologists. Although few guidelines emerged to indicate how an integrated approach might be achieved, the writers at least raised the possibility of a rapprochement between the two spheres. The contribution of Swift (1965), suggesting how the controversy between sociology and psychology might be reconciled, was an important forerunner to the Jahoda-Richards debate, and has informed the model that follows. There is also a growing trend (adopted in this thesis) for anthropological and sociological research to draw on common qualitative procedures (Filstead, 1970). Social psychology has also provided a number of concepts.

In what follows, an attempt is made to further inter-sphere co-operation by the construction of an eclectic, heuristic model to describe the process of a child's education - used here in its broadest sense - and the social and man-made environments within which it occurs. The model will strive for logical consistency, and its usefulness may be gauged by the degree to which it assists subsequent stages of discovery, description, and analysis of the ethnographic data concerning the Jewish school.

(a) The process of enculturation

To avoid the problems raised by competing paradigms' definitions of the term 'socialization' - compare, for instance, Brim and Wheeler (1966: 2), Mayer (1970: xiii), Zigler and Child (1969: 474) - it is proposed to employ the term 'enculturation' first introduced into social science by Herskovits (1948: 310). Although it has not gained wide acceptance since, it has come to be used in two senses. The most general refers to the transmission of a society's culture to each successive generation. In this sense, culture is seen as a form of social or cultural heritage. However, to conceive of the child as a passive recipient of the social heritage is an over-simplification and even misleading. As Bidney has pointed out (1967: 27):

> The identification of culture with the social heritage is, to my mind, not only a misnomer but also a serious error, since it implies that the essential feature of culture is the fact of communication and transmission, whereas I maintain that the essential feature is the combination of invention and acquisition through habituation and conditioning.... In brief, human culture is historical because it involves change as well as continuity, creation, and discovery of novelties together with the assimilation of traditions. To define culture as a social heritage is to ignore the equally significant element of historical novelty and discontinuity.

The second usage suggested by Herskovits is child-centred, and is similar to the personalistic and humanistic view of culture adopted by Bidney (ibid., pp. 136-140). Enculturation to Herskovits (loc. cit.) is 'a single process whereby the individual masters and *manipulates* his culture' (my italics). This definition has phenomenological implications which strengthen its adoption for the purposes of this study, although I would wish to develop it further in what follows.

The ontological nature of culture has provoked considerable debate (e.g. Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952; Bidney, 1967; Kaplan & Manners, 1972) into which it is not intended to enter. For the purposes of this analysis, I am concerned with the culture of a social group, rather than the concept of culture *per se.* By group I mean a plurality of persons, who share certain common traditions and interests, a distinct sense of identity, structure and organization, and which has existed as such for a determinate, historical period. Such a group develops a form of 'problem-solving device' (Thompson, 1969) which is its culture. I define this as a social group's way of life based on shared meanings and symbols concerning its technology and skills, customary behaviours, beliefs and values, which evolve, and are being continually modified from generation to generation, to solve the problems of living in a particular habitat. The three components of technology and skills, customary behaviours, beliefs and values are welded together by, and derive their unique characteristics from, the social group's value orientations or 'world view'. In combination they give to the culture a synergistic quality which distinguishes it from other cultures.

In broad terms, the culture of a child's group provides him with the experiential 'raw material' which he can manipulate in constructing a subjective version of cultural reality or 'tacit theory of the world' (Kay, 1970). In essence this constitutes the process of enculturation. However, even as defined, the concept of culture is too broad to be useful analytically. Certain salient components are involved in the enculturation process, and need further consideration.

(b) The saliency of tradition and values in enculturation

In their comprehensive review of the concept of culture (1952) Kroeber and Kluckhohn comment that 'the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values'. In the literal sense of tradition as 'transmission' all elements of a culture would be regarded as traditional, except for components which a social group either borrows from another, or invents afresh. But many aspects of a culture cannot be regarded as traditions in the sense used by Kroeber and Kluckhohn, and other theorists (e.g. Radin, 1934; Sampson, 1964; Smolicz, 1974a, 1974b). For instance, customary behaviour or habitualized actions are largely taken for granted by a person. But they 'retain their meaningful character for the individual although the meanings involved become embedded as routines in his general stock of knowledge' (Berger & Luckmann, 1971: 71). Even though customs may extend over several generations and thus have historical respectability, they may still not be regarded as traditional.

To qualify as a tradition an institution must be recalled as having existed in past times, and be valued enough in the present for members of a social group to want to continue or modify it. 'What is really a tradition therefore is not the institution but the belief in its value ... Strictly and properly speaking therefore, a tradition is not a mere observed fact like an existing custom, nor a story that exhausts its significance in being told; it is an idea that expresses a value judgement' (Radin, 1934: 63). In a discussion of Szacki's work, Smolicz notes (1974a: 18-19) that tradition is a 'highly malleable phenomenon'. It is 'that part of the heritage about which the current generation is *not* indifferent, i.e. it is that part of the heritage which is *evaluated* (either positively or negatively) by those *living today*'.

The link between value and tradition is virtually axiomatic in the above views, but raises a number of conceptual problems. The highly compressed view of Smolicz (1974b: 78-79) that tradition is 'a value from the past' appears to imply two aspects. Tradition involves an act of valuing some 'thing' from the past, and also the 'thing' that is valued. The former, however, is considered by Firth (1964: 221) to have an obligatory character, 'an element of "ought" as well as of want'. This raises the important issue of what determines or guides the normative judgements involved. Does the current generation approach the task of evaluating the heritage *de novo*, or is it 'programmed' by some superior scale of preferences or 'central core of meanings' (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961: 2) to carry out its evaluation in a way that ensures some continuity in the culture? It is difficult otherwise to see why evaluation might not be solely a matter of whim. Yet, as Thompson has suggested, drawing on cross-cultural evidence from a number of communities (1969: 336):

> It appears that in culturally homogeneous communities the pattern of indigenous core values, mirroring the group's age-old perception of the world and its vital power dynamics, is rarely affected directly by man-made external pressures. Usually it is affected, if at all, only indirectly or partially.

For the purposes of this thesis, which attempts to consider a paradigm case of a highly resistant culture, namely, Orthodox Judaism, I subscribe to the concept of a central core of meanings or value orientations. Further consideration of their nature is taken up later in this chapter.

The second problem, that tradition is some 'thing' from the past that is valued, entails adopting a definition that retains the ideational aspect of tradition, and does not reduce it to a list of customs, behaviours and other culture traits. For instance, Valentine has suggested (1968: 7):

> The values of a culture include the ideals, the aims and ends, the ethical and aesthetic standards, and the criteria of knowledge and wisdom embodied within it, taught to and modified by each human generation. These values are not simply manifested straightforwardly on the surface of everyday life; they are related to experience and behaviour in complicated, variable, and indirect ways. What is prized and endorsed according to the standards of a cultural system is not always manifest or practically available in the exigencies of ongoing existence.

Informed by the views of the theorists discussed above, I take tradition to be the valued knowledge, including beliefs, ideas and attitudes, which represent the 'intersubjective sedimentations' derived from the shared historical past of a socio-cultural group. Sign systems - of which the most decisive is language - objectivate tradition and greatly facilitate the enculturation process. As Berger and Luckmann point out (1971: 85):

> Intersubjective sedimentation can be called truly social only when it has been objectified in a sign system of one kind or another, that is, when the possibility of reiterated objectification of the shared experiences arises. Only then is it likely that these experiences will be transmitted from one generation to the next, and from one collectivity to another.

The central function of language should not be allowed to obscure the fact that tradition can be transmitted through non-linguistic means. Others' styles of behaviour, the group's cultural artifacts, arrangement of its habitat, and aesthetic or artistic creations, are 'cultural media' for tradition as Redfield has suggested (1956: 56). There is an intimate connection between tradition and the man-made environment, because, to a large extent, tradition provides the 'plans and recipes' (Beals, 1973: 56) which determine how the environment is arranged. Styles of behaviour are similarly derived from tradition, in the final analysis, as tradition provides the sedimented ideas and knowledge of the proper procedures and rules governing people's actions.

(c) The contextual and situational nature of enculturation

The child does not acquire his culture *in vacuo* but through reciprocated interaction with components of a series of enculturation matrices, which he encounters during maturation. Each matrix consists of an aggregate of persons, existing at a particular historical period, in a natural geographical environment or habitat, and bounded by a man-made, technological 'cultural landscape'. The concept of a matrix having an educative function is derived from one of its O.E.D. definitions - 'place in which thing is developed'. The term has gained wide acceptance in sociological literature (e.g. Blau, 1964: 253; Wheeler, 1967: 19; Clausen, 1968: 135), and its contextual usage here owes much to the field theory of Lewin (1967). Swift (1965) has also suggested that from the child's point of view socialization (my enculturation) occurs within an environment which is his culture. By implication 'the environment contains three aspects - patterns of action, a normative system and physical artifacts. The assumption is that all three are likely to have some bearing upon the ways in which the personality and intellect of the individual develops' (Swift, 1965: 342). A matrix is illustrated in Figure 2.1.

The child's enculturation occurs both independently of, and in conjunction with, representatives of the culture he encounters in an enculturation matrix. They are the source of its 'shared symbols and definitions' (ibid., p. 343). They consciously mediate the elements of the

A SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING COMPONENTS OF THE ENCULTURATION MATRIX INFLUENCING THE CHILD

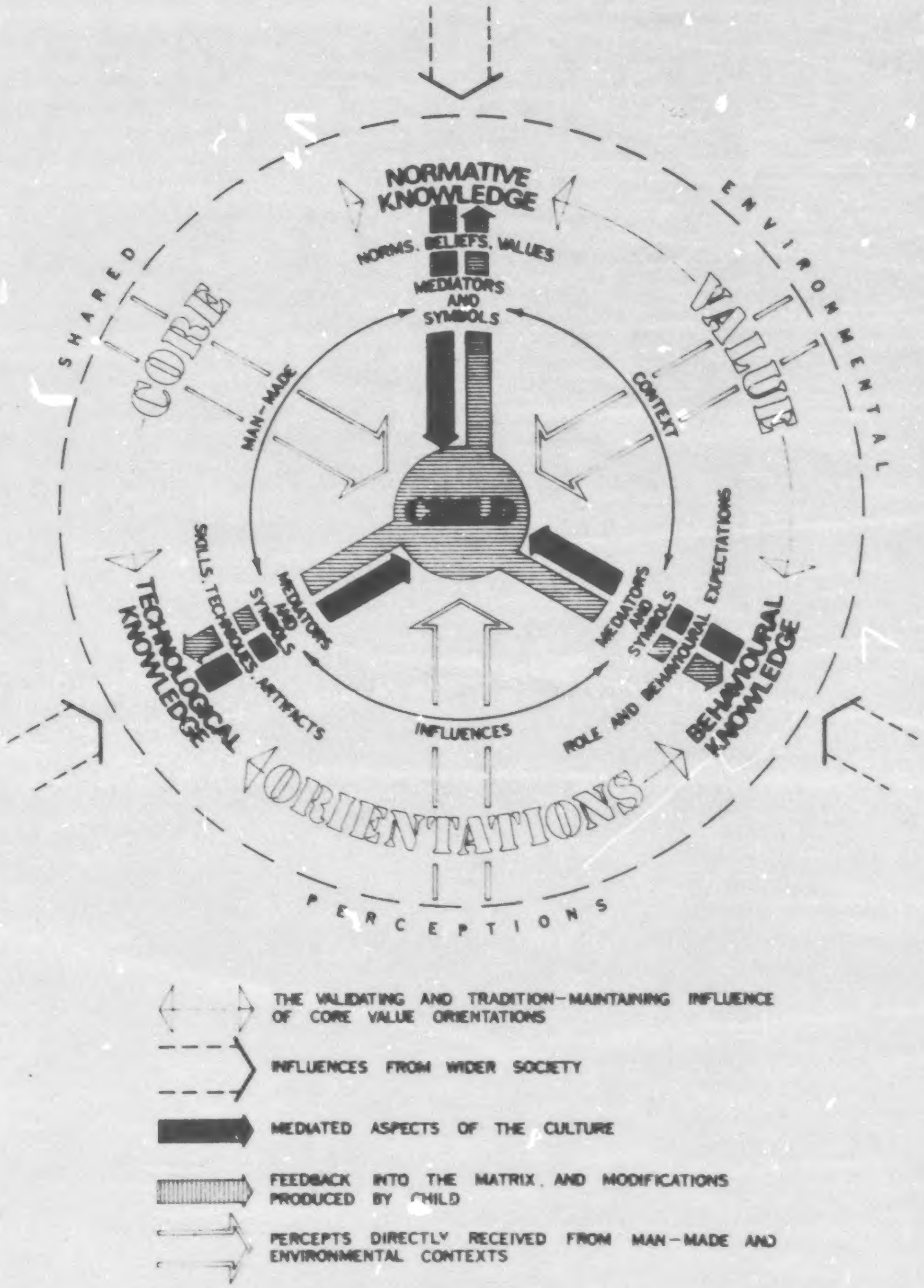
NORMATIVE KNOWLEDGE
NORMS, BELIEFS, VALUES
MEDIATORS AND SYMBOLS
SHARED ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS
CORE
VALUE
ORIENTATIONS
MAN-MADE
CONTEXT
CHILD
SKILLS, TECHNIQUES, ARTIFACTS
MEDIATORS AND SYMBOLS
TECHNOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE
MEDIATORS AND SYMBOLS
ROLE AND BEHAVIOURAL EXPECTATIONS
BEHAVIOURAL KNOWLEDGE
INFLUENCES
THE VALIDATING AND TRADITION-MAINTAINING INFLUENCE OF CORE VALUE ORIENTATIONS
INFLUENCES FROM WIDER SOCIETY
MEDIATED ASPECTS OF THE CULTURE
FEEDBACK INTO THE MATRIX, AND MODIFICATIONS PRODUCED BY CHILD
PERCEPTS DIRECTLY RECEIVED FROM MAN-MADE AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXTS

Fig. 2.1

tradition that they value through the shared symbol system, or unconsciously act as role models for the child. In the former case, both spoken and written language is of paramount importance in the enculturation process. 'The speech structure mastered by the child becomes the basic structure of his thinking ... Thought development is determined by language, i.e., by the linguistic tools of thought and by the socio-cultural experience of the child ... The child's intellectual growth is contingent on his mastering the social means of thought, that is, language' (Vygotsky, 1962: 51). In the latter case, paralinguistic means of communication such as 'gestures, body-orientations, postures, facial expressions, eye-contacts, manipulation of proximity and physical contacts' (Laver & Hutcheson, 1972: 13), also convey meaning.

The child also obtains percepts from inanimate, man-made components of an enculturation matrix, such as the spatial arrangement of the landscape, or the style, construction and orientation of buildings. These can reflect important traditional values, especially those relating to the cosmological beliefs of the group. The spatial layout of some Hutterite communities, for instance, is designed to provide a 'pure and holy cosmos' (Laatsch, 1971: 355). The natural environment itself can have important influences on the development, *inter alia*, of the child's visual perception as Segall, Campbell, and Herskovits have demonstrated empirically (1966). A child is also affected by the social constructions held by members of his group *about* the environment as Kates has suggested (1970: 648):

> There is an environment in the minds of men. It encompasses the environment of sun and rain, bricks and mortar, people and things. For the human concerned it is no less real than the external ambience despite its existence solely in the form of perceptions, cognitions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour. It is the environment which men both respond to and seek to fashion.

Interaction with an enculturation matrix is reciprocal. That is, the child both receives percepts from it, and provides feedback into the matrix which plays a part, however minor, in modifying it. An enculturation matrix is thus never static, but evolves over time. However, it is sufficiently stable in the vast majority of cases to enable the child to develop a view of his self, i.e. a self concept, that is specific to the components and processes of the matrix. As George Mead has pointed out (1964: 42) 'A self can only arise where there is a social process within which this self has had its initiation. It arises within that process'.

Interaction with a matrix enables the child to form a 'cognitive map' (Clausen, 1968: 141) of his social group, which becomes for him a vital frame of self-reference. He identifies himself in relation to significant others in his group, their language, their knowledge and its system of logic. Perceptions of the environment or habitat, its territorial limits and geographical features, are also incorporated into the cognitive map. It enables the child to cope with the life situations he shares with other members of his group.

The enculturation matrices, I suggest, play a critical role in the child's development. The longitudinal process involved is 'the culture of the human being - where culture is used as a verb' (Spindler, 1963: 58). As part of a series of matrices from the moment of birth the child cannot but look, listen, learn and communicate with others on their terms. He gathers knowledge, and understands what things mean, also on their terms. He cannot abrogate his culture and tradition to any great extent as he is himself a product of them, and to do so would need a detached perspective of his own culture, which cannot be obtained without knowledge of one or more contrasting cultures. Despite some elements in the process which are problematical and allow the child to manipulate a matrix, the enculturation process is sufficiently compelling as to merit the appellation or the *enculturation imperative.*

(d) The problematical nature of enculturation

The child receives and manipulates percepts from the enculturation matrices he encounters over a period of time. We can distinguish two major phases in this longitudinal process, which correspond to Berger and Luckmann's (1971: 149-166) primary and secondary socialization. These are the stages of informal and formal enculturation. Like primary socialization (ibid., p. 154), the former presents relatively few problems:

> The child does not internalize the world of his significant others as one of many possible worlds. He internalizes it as *the* world, the only existent and only conceivable world, the world *tout court.* It is for this reason that the world internalized in primary socialization is so much more firmly entrenched in consciousness than worlds internalized in secondary socializations.

However, the following stage of formal enculturation can be more problematical. Firstly the process takes place in enculturation matrices, such as schools or institutions of learning, where the child is exposed to the dictates of cultural agents and authority figures, who did not feature in his informal enculturation, which took place mainly in a matrix comprising the home and immediate neighbourhood. From such figures he may learn knowledge about other matrices which conflicts with that of his own 'spatial and temporal grid ... manifesting as it does the symbolic structure of the society which has encompassed [it]' (Dumont & Wax, 1969: 219). The formal enculturation agents may themselves be at odds with each other over what knowledge the child should be presented with.

The very knowledge itself and its logic may vary from matrix to matrix as Keddie has implied (1973: 17-19).

Inherent contradictions can arise from the different worlds internalized by the types of children within a formal enculturation matrix. Even within a homogeneous society, their informal enculturation experiences will have provided differential access to its bodies of knowledge, so that each child will have a subtly different construction of reality from his peers. Where the society is a multi-cultural one, on the other hand, this problem is exacerbated. Children may then have had differential access to quite disparate bodies of knowledge and their logics, together with the symbolic language and para-linguistic systems by which they are communicated. So strong is the enculturation imperative of the informal stage that formal enculturation matrices can become places where hetero-cultural encounters occur. Each child strives to construct an adequate world view from percepts from an 'alien' enculturation matrix, whilst constrained by his own subjective culture - 'the characteristic way in which a cultural group perceives and responds to its social environment' (Fiedler *et al*, 1971: 96). At the same time he endeavours to cope with the subjective cultures of others in the matrix.

In such a situation, the problems of 'internal' and 'external' boundaries to behaviour become crucial. Because boundaries are socio-cultural constructs in people's minds and not somewhere 'out there' as objective realities, uncertainty will thus exist in a hetero-cultural group as to what 'good' membership entails. Similarly, knowledge about others will be subject not only to ethnocentric biases deeply embedded at the stage of informal enculturation, but may even be reinforced by face-to-face encounters at the formal stage. Lacking adequate typifications to guide interaction, and in the absence of a shared means of communication, 'real' knowledge becomes a chimera, and the problem of defining internal and external boundaries exacerbated (Holzner 1972: 55 ff.).

The 'malleable' nature of tradition presents problems, especially in situations where more than one tradition is presented to the child. He may then be compelled to choose either between one or the other, or to select parts of each tradition and reject the remainder. His 'range for *praxis*', i.e. the scope for objectifying himself through his own actions and products (Edgar, 1974: 672) becomes correspondingly limited. He is also faced with conflicting emotional attachments: 'foci of commitments around which the known world is organized and information availability is restricted' (ibid., p. 673; Holzner, 1972: 88). The implications of such a situation for the analysis of schooling in pluralist societies are obvious.

(2) School as a formal enculturation matrix

As implied in the title of this chapter, a school can be conceptualized as a formal enculturation matrix. It has a recognized man-made environment with components which will reflect something of the traditions and values of the socio-cultural group supporting the school. Teachers are enculturation agents to whom is entrusted the group's valued knowledge. At best, they may be permitted, and enlightened enough, to *assist* the child in *his* construction of cultural reality by offering an assortment of knowledge in a variety of teaching-learning situations. At worst, the agents may be constrained in what they can offer, and will insist on teaching knowledge derived from a 'reified curriculum ... conceived of only as historically located, the outcome of a number of historical occasions in which what is relevant knowledge has evolved and been incorporated into the "curriculum"' (Keddie, 1973: 16-17). Such knowledge is likely to be taught didactically under conditions which permit of little, if any, alternative choice.[1] Assisting teachers are other agents, with varying powers of coercion and control over 'internal' boundaries and the prevention of deviance.

A child pursues a pathway through the formal matrix in a cyclical manner. Each cycle starts with his entry into a Grade or Form, and normally terminates when he leaves it for another Grade at the end of each academic year. Such transitions are points of temporal and spatial discontinuity, occasionally marked by *rites de passage*, such as formal welcoming ceremonies from a new teacher, or 'break-up parties' at the end of the year. In each Grade, a different set of enculturation agents, norms, and behaviours will be encountered. As Grades are usually hierarchical, a child's process through the matrix involves anticipatory socialization (Merton & Kitt, 1950) in the sociological sense of learning the appropriate role behaviours, skills and knowledge necessary for entering the next Grade in the sequence and, finally, for the assumption of a particular status-role in the society he will enter on leaving the matrix. This last transition is usually a major point of discontinuity for the child, and can involve appropriate *rites-de-passage* such as Speech Night valedictions or matriculation 'farewell dinners'. Student rags are unofficial rituals which mark the discontinuity.

Parallel with, and to some extent over-lapping, the Grade system are other groupings to which children belong. These are more informal, and are often of an *ad hoc* nature, but form part of the matrix. They are concerned with extra-curricular activities such as sporting fixtures, educational visits, or merely peer group comings and goings. All these can also be cyclical, but are usually less regular and can occur in phases, controlled by such aspects as climatic conditions (for sport), events in the wider society (for excursions), or mere whim. Groupings for children's games seem to vary according to the season. A game becomes popular almost overnight, runs its course and is replaced by another almost in a form of ritual sequence hallowed by tradition.

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[1] An excellent example of such a situation is Hostetler's description of socialization in Old Order Amish and Hutterite communities (Hostetler, 1970). See also Hostetler and Huntington (1971).

(3) The saliency of value orientations in the transmission of tradition

(a) The relationship between value orientations and tradition

The normative element of values and tradition noted above implies that certain aspects of the cultural heritage are selected out, and are deemed worthy of retention and transmission, while others are ignored, or are allowed to degenerate and become lost. The persistence of traditions and the conservation of much knowledge seem to suggest that a socio-cultural group's tradition-maintaining mechanism is programmed by certain 'core meanings' or an over-arching 'world view' to which can be given the name value orientations. According to Kluckhohn (1951: 409), they are 'those value notions which are (a) general, (b) organized, and (c) include definite existential judgements. A value-orientation is a set of linked propositions embracing both value and existential elements'. Honigmann (1967: 78) suggests that value orientations are 'broad-gauge propositions concerning what people feel positively about: they influence both the means and ends of striving'.

Having an organized, definite character, especially when set down formally as propositions, value orientations can be readily identified for fieldwork purposes, and a number of educational studies have employed typologies of value orientations (e.g. Dahlke, 1958; Strodtbeck, 1958; Watts, 1970). Much of the impetus for these appears to be derived from the by now classic Rimrock study of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). Based on this, together with modifications suggested by Thompson and Hostetler (1970), five categories of value orientations can be conceptualized.

A sixth category seems warranted by the growing body of research concerning the environmental perceptions shared by members of a culture (e.g. Lowenthal & Prince, 1965; English, 1968; Saarinen, 1969). Their combined values and emotional attitudes toward the environment and the arrangement of its components constitute the system's 'ethnogeography' (Knight, 1971: 45-51). Following Richards (1970: 17), it seems appropriate to regard this as a value orientation.

(b) The systematization of value orientations

The core meanings of a socio-cultural group can be systematized in a typology of value orientations, which consists of six categories. No category is weighted in respect of any other category. However, as arranged below, it is apparent that the typology is hierarchical. Each successive category is subsumed in the previous ones.

A TYPOLOGY OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS

1. The origins, nature, and super-nature of the universe; its power sources and man's relations to them -
   Man-universe orientation
2. The relation of man to nature and its biotic resources -
   Man-nature orientation
3. The nature of community and the preferences and objectives associated with its basic institutions and patterns of social relationships -
   Man-community orientation
4. Preferred forms of activity and achievement -
   Man-activity orientation
5. Conceptions of time; the allocation of time to activities -
   Man-activity orientation
6. The arrangement and construction of the cultural landscape -
   Man-habitat orientation

(c) The place of values and traditions in a school

A school functions to communicate to its pupils something of the tradition of the socio-cultural group or groups it serves. From this perspective, the working arrangements and timetabling (social organization), structure, beliefs, ideas and norms of the school can be seen as the 'social organization of tradition' (Redfield, 1956: 58): the past encapsulated in the present. Tradition also plays a major part in determining the body of knowledge or curriculum the school transmits, as Wheeler notes (1967: 13):

> In any society where there is a long tradition of formal school, the curriculum at all stages is closely related to and derives from the cultural past. The purposes, whether stated or implicit, will reflect the universals present in the cultural core, while the subject matter will be that which is believed to encompass the most valuable knowledge and skills and the significant ideas and values of the society.

It is necessary however, to guard against taking an over-simplistic view of a school as the mediator of consensual values. Shipman (1968: 28, 33-34) has pointed out that differing values of the wider society outside the school impose limits within which it must learn to work. Even within the school there is unlikely to be one common set of values shared by staff and pupils: 'Not only does each class and group within the classes develop its own values, but there is a division between the official values and those held informally'.

Such a view does not appear to be shared by Musgrave however (1965: 224). As part of the image of the ideal school, he sees one of its functions as the transmission of 'a definite set of values'. The difference between the two points of view may stem from the fact that while Shipman is referring to values in the normative sense as determining 'what is seen as right and wrong' (op. cit., p. 27), Musgrave is referring to the system of basic or 'master values' which are referred to in this study as value orientations. There could well be more consensus over these on the part of the school, its members, and the outside society, than over the lower-powered, normative values apparently referred to by Shipman.

A fundamental assumption for the purposes of this thesis is that a religious school subscribes to a formal charter or codified corpus of sacred literature. This is amenable to charter analysis using the value orientation typology, which establishes the values that are conceptually at the foundation of the school's social organization of tradition. They constitute a 'design for living' which those attending the school ought to follow. The degree to which they do will depend on the consistency with which the values guide belief and actions, and are not influenced by extraneous values from outside the school matrix. Where it is isolated from the wider society as far as possible, consistent values can be maintained, and children's reality construction is then relatively unproblematical. Enculturation in the Hutterite community described by Hostetler (1970) and Hostetler and Huntingdon (1971) is an example of this situation.

However, it must be regarded as comparatively rare in modern industrial societies, and the more common case is a school which is committed to a design for living and a set of values which are at variance with those of the wider society. The Independent religious schools, ethnic schools supported by immigrant groups, and schools associated with the Catholic education system are examples in Australia. The pupils who attend them may be successful in constructing adequate 'tacit theories of the world' without strain. However, it can be hypothesized that where the values of the school are not congruent with those of the wider society, this will not be the case, and evidence of strain can be identified and its causes isolated.

The study of an Orthodox Jewish Day School that follows is an inter-disciplinary investigation of a situation where a formal enculturation matrix (the school) is validated by two sets of value orientations. The first is highly articulated, and is derived from the corpus of Orthodox Judaism. The second is more diffuse, and is derived from traditional ideas about academic education in Victoria. The school endeavours to prepare boys for their roles in an advanced, Western, industrial society. Two different world views are accessible to the boys, and influence their constructions of reality. The theoretical analysis of their successes and failures in such a task may establish a general theory with some predictive value and application to comparable school situations.

(4) Summary

Through an enculturation model of formal schooling a number of key elements have been identified that can be assumed to provide experiential 'raw material' with which pupils can interact, and thereby construct cultural reality. Traditions and value orientations can be thought of as necessary but not sufficient conditions for the presence of other elements in the matrix. They are causal to the extent that they derive from the past but give direction to the present and future of processes in the matrix. The following chapters trace the historical origins and nature of the traditions and value orientations validating the social organization of tradition in the Orthodox Jewish Day School selected for the subject of this study.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF TWO TRADITIONS

(1) The two traditions inherited by the school

Lubavitcher School is heir to two traditions. The first both in order of time and priority given to it in the life of the school is the Great Tradition of Orthodox Judaism. In its pure form this had its origins in Biblical times, and is 'a body of religious beliefs and practices which guided every facet of society, provided guidance for every experience in life and completely united its adherents in a "moral community"' (Medding, 1968: 11). The Great Tradition was established then, and has been augmented progressively over the centuries since, by eminent literati - those responsible for fostering and maintaining a great tradition (Singer, 1960: 107). Of central importance in the history of the school have been those literati who are adherents of the Lubavitcher Movement.[1] This is a branch of Judaism rather than a sect, with its headquarters in New York. Alternatively known as the *Chabad* tradition,[2] it is the foremost among a number of groups fostering Chassidism, a pietist movement which originated among Jews in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century C.E.[3]

Second in both time and priority given to it at the school is an Academic Tradition of basically non-vocational education. Its more classical precursor was originally fostered in English and Scottish universities, public and endowed grammar schools, and exported from the latter during the foundation period of Australian education (French, 1959: 34). Despite a subsequent dilution of the classical content, its literati have been eminent professors, schoolmasters and headmasters. Some of the latter have modelled their scholastic approach on that of Dr Thomas Arnold of Rugby from whom the term 'Arnold tradition' has been derived, influencing much of the teaching and learning in many Independent and some State or government schools.

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[1] Lubavitcher - after the town of Lubavitch in Lithuania, which was the centre of the movement for 102 years prior to its dispersal under Russian persecutions.

[2] *Chabad* - an acrostic for *ch*ochma (Wisdom or Concept) *bi*na (Understanding) and *da*as (Knowledge - concentration, depth of carrying the idea to its conclusion); Rabbi Joseph I. Schneersohn - *On Learning Chassidus*, p.7.

[3] The spelling adopted for Chassidism follows that used in publications from the Lubavitcher headquarters in New York. Alternative spellings are encountered in the literature - Has(s)idism, Chasidism.
C.E. - Common Era.

In Victoria, the Academic Tradition is still very closely associated with the universities, although some reduction in academic rigour has taken place, especially in the post-Second World War period. The organization with statutory authority to speak for many of the literati associated with this tradition is the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board (V.U.S.E.B.) with headquarters in Melbourne. It is pertinent to comment that the priority given to universities over schools in the title is neither fortuitous nor confined to the name only.

(2) The origins of the Lubavitcher Movement

(a) The beginnings of Chassidism

Tradition has it that Chassidism was founded by Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov (the *BeSHT*) born in Okup, a small town on the borders of Volhynia and Podolia (Rabinowicz, 1960: 23).[4] Followers of the movement were termed the Chassidim (sing. Chassid) or 'Pious Ones'. The word has ancient origins, occurring in much earlier Biblical literature about the time of the Hasmonean political revolt in the second century B.C.E. So it is related, this incurred the condemnation of some *Hasidim* (Pious Ones) whose motives were purely religious (Epstein, 1959: 92).

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[4] Baal Shem Tov (Heb.) 'Master of the Good Name', abbreviated to *BeSHT*.

The adoption of the term for the later movement stressed the keynote of the Baal Shem's teachings: zeal, prayerful devotion, and humility to God. Chassidism appealed strongly to the feelings and emotions. It thus developed as a way of escape for a simple, ignorant peasantry suffering from the despair and degradation arising out of the social and economic stagnation following the savage and barbaric Cossack persecutions under Chmielnicki in 1648 (ibid., pp. 270-71). Such simple peasantry - the *Am-haaretzim* or uneducated men (sing. *Am-haaretz*) - found a central place in the Baal Shem's love and teachings.[5] This feature of Chassidism - love of all men, no matter how much they have erred - stresses the social, ethical quality of the religious movement.

The rapid spread of Chassidism was due as much to its appeal to the masses as to the 'extraordinary galaxy of saint-mystics, veritable human dynamos, it produced during the first fifty years of its existence' (Epstein, 1959: 274-75). These added to, and in some cases amended, the original teachings of the Baal Shem. They also gave rise to the institution of the *Zaddik*,[6] a concept originated by Rabbi Dov Baer, the *Maggid* of Meseritz, who was the *BeSHT*'s foremost disciple and ultimately his successor (Appendix 4.1).[7]

Chassidism, however, aroused intense opposition from opponents or *Mitnagdim*.[8] These were particularly strong in Lithuania, centring on Vilna, where lived Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon, the *Vilna Gaon*, a fanatical opponent of the movement (Rabinowicz, 1960: 42).[9] He attacked it on the grounds that it diverged from the strict observance of all rabbinical laws and regulations, particularly those concerning the prescribed hours of worship and the meticulous recital of prayers. The Chassidic euphoria in worship - swaying, dancing, sighing and laughing while at prayer - were abhorrent to him.

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[5] *Am-haaretz* (Heb.) 'a person of the land', 'peasant'; often used in a derogatory sense - 'ignoramus', 'boor'.

[6] *Zaddik* (Heb.) 'the perfectly righteous'.

[7] *Maggid*, plur. *Maggidim* (Heb.) 'preacher', 'speaker'.

[8] *Mitnagdim* (Heb.) 'opponents'; anti-Chassidism.

The *Vilna Gaon* excommunicated the Chassidim on the night following *Yom Kippur* (the Day of Atonement) in the year 1796. This act culminated a period of intense and protracted struggle between *Mitnagdim* and Chassidim. However, this opposition did little to check the growth of the movement, although as Epstein suggests (1959: 281) it did lead Chassidim to reduce the excesses of the cult of the *Zaddik* and to 'accord to the knowledge of Torah its proper and rightful place. In this way, Chassidism, without losing any of its peculiar warmth and enthusiasm, became one of the major pillars of support of Rabbinism and, at the same time, one of its finest and richest products'.

(b) Elements of Chassidic ideology

It is difficult within the limited space of a few paragraphs to encompass the major elements of Chassidic ideology without compressing greatly and being highly selective. It is also necessary to hedge many statements around with qualifications to avoid their misinterpretation, particularly where the reader is more familiar with Christian usage of certain key terminology.

In essence Chassidism represents a fusion of *Kabbalah* and Rabbinism. The former is the body of Jewish mystical literature dealing with the supernatural world with which man is linked. Man may speculate about the nature of the spiritual world, including the Divinity, and its relations with this world, though not in the Christian sense of eschatological speculation about the other world to come. 'The end of the Law is obedience', not speculation. However, man may attempt to turn such knowledge to practical good by trying to tap the power sources of the spiritual world to achieve 'psychological and wonder-working effects in the physical' (Epstein, 1959: 223). The concept of the *Zaddik* owes part of its origin to these twin speculative and practical elements in Jewish mysticism. One of its further characteristics, noted by Epstein (loc. cit.), has been a Messianic tendency.

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[9] *Gaon* (Heb.) 'Majesty', 'Genius'. Title originally given to the chief of the rabbinical academy in Babylon. Outstanding scholar.

Rabbinism as it developed in the Talmudic Era and continued in the Middle Ages, on the other hand, provided a necessary balance against any excesses in Jewish mysticism and rational philosophy. Rabbinism was concerned to 'provide clear definitions of norms of action for every new situation and circumstance, and thus to control and shape the existence of the individual and the community from the most intimate and sacred details to the wholly external and secular' (Epstein, 1959: 252).

Both sides of Judaism are encompassed by Rabbinism, i.e. *Halachah*, ritual and legal, *Aggadah*, ethical, in the writings which flowed from this period. Prominent among these were the commentaries on the Talmud and *Torah* by Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes (1040-1105) known more commonly as Rashi;[10] the *Shulchan Aruch* of Joseph Karo first printed in Venice in 1565; and codifications of Jewish law written by Moses Maimonides in Cairo during the twelfth century C.E., and quickly spreading through Jewry to substantially influence subsequent codifications of Jewish law. Rashi in particular has been very influential in education through the edition of the Bible containing his commentary - a prescribed text in all traditional Jewish schools, including Lubavitcher School.

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[10] Rashi - from the Hebrew initials *R*abbi *Sh*elomo *I*tzchaki.

Chassidism combined the legalistic emphasis of Rabbinism with its own, unique interpretation of Kabbalistic doctrine concerning the Divine Omnipresence. The result enabled Chassidim to see God's presence in everything, so that earthly things such as the functions and appetites of the senses became elevated to the service of God. This was allied to a strong belief in the power of prayer as the ideal means of communion with God. However, the prayer is recited with an 'exalted joy and in a state of ecstatic fervour (*hithlahabuth*) in which man forgets self and all his surroundings and concentrates all his thoughts and feelings on union with God' (ibid., p. 272).

The Chassidic life-style derives from this fusion of mystical reinterpretation and belief in prayer. Strong bodily movements, swaying, loud chanting and dancing at times were used to induce a state of ecstasy, though some later Chassidic rabbis frowned upon such excesses, and held that controlled prayer was the only proper way of communing with God. A certain euphoria also spread to the elements of physical living. As they too were a means of serving God, they should be carried out zestfully but in moderation: eating, drinking and being at all times joyful, avoiding sadness as much as possible. Allied to a strong social ethic stressing love of man, in sum the movement set out 'an affirmative philosophy of life which, though warmly emotional and intensely mystical, was yet highly ethical, and rich in the joys of life' (ibid., p. 274).

(c) The leaders and literati of Chassidism

The mystical element in Chassidism was the basis for the development of Rabbi Dov Baer's concept of *Zaddik*, 'the perfectly righteous person', into an institution which became one of the movement's most distinctive features, the 'Zaddik cult' (ibid., p. 275). The *Zaddik*'s function was to concentrate on communion with God in prayer and supplication for favours in both everyday and spiritual matters on behalf of ordinary men. These cannot give their undivided attention to such a lengthy task due to the distractions of making a living.

Comparable to the attraction of all great rabbis, this mediating function, allied to the mystical and charismatic personality of the *Zaddik*, attracted Chassidim to live in close proximity to him in a form of 'court'. His supernatural powers were constantly invoked, and merely to be in the presence of such a mystic was held to confer spiritual benefits. Many *Zaddikim* were credited with performing miracles or wonders, which further enhanced their charisma, and the *Wunder Rebbe*[11] has become a familiar figure in folk literature and plays.[12]

The *Zaddik*'s court was a unique communal life of intense devotion and spiritual fervour, which reached its peak during the Sabbath and the Festivals and Holy Days of Judaism. At these times the *Zaddik* would reach heights of exalted worship and prayer in which his ecstatic Chassidim would share. They would join the *Zaddik* at a meeting (Yidd. *farbrengen*) around the communal dining table and hear him expound, and comment on, sacred texts. They would also sing mystic hymns, Chassidic chants and melodies after him, and bask in his spiritual effulgence. Such 'courts' survive to this day, in those parts of the world where Chassidim live, in the form of the rebbe's house or *stiebel*.[13]

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[11] *Rebbe* (Yidd.) 'teacher'; title given to a learned man. Usual title of a Chassidic leader, coming to replace the older term *Zaddik*. *Wunder Rebbe* 'miracle-working' *rebbe*.

[12] See, for instance, *Tales of the Hasidim.* (Buber, 1948); and *The Dybbuk* - a traditional Polish play.

(3) The genealogy of leaders of the Lubavitcher Movement

Although it is held that some *Zaddikim* did not need to possess intellectual capacity and attainments to attract adherents, many were in fact men of genius, as well as having the essential charisma which drew Chassidim to them. Both qualities were combined in the person of Rabbi Schneur Zalman ('The Old Rabbi') of Liadi (1745-1812), one of Dov Baer's many disciples, and the 'philosopher of Chassidism' and founder of *Chabad*.

Chabad lays less stress on the emotional tendency of Chassidism, which was a feature of Dov Baer's court at Meseritz, in favour of an intellectual approach attaching great importance to the study of the Talmud in the Rabbinic tradition. The concept of the *Zaddik*, as a form of mediator between man and God, miracle worker and charismatic mystic, is replaced by the idea of the *rebbe*, who is respected for his great scholarship and knowledge of *Torah*.

Many features of Chassidism are retained in *Chabad*, however: ecstatic attitude towards prayer, the Chassidic communal life centred on a venerated *rebbe*, Chassidic songs and melodies which are of great importance in *Chabad*, and include a wordless melody (Heb. *niggun*), composed, among other songs, by Rabbi Schneur Zalman himself. *Chabad*, like much of Chassidism, is firmly based on *Halachah*, even going beyond it in rigorous observance of ritual and ceremonial. One feature of this is the performance of frequent ablutions, especially before prayers and meals.

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[13] See, for instance, Kranzler (1961), Poll (1962), Gutwirth (1972). *Stiebel* (Yidd.) 'a little house', 'conventicle'.

The *Chabad* dynasty was carried on by Rabbi Schneur Zalman's successors.[14] In the sixth generation came Rabbi Joseph Isaac Schneersohn (1880-1950), the penultimate Lubavitcher Rebbe.[15] In 1920 he accepted leadership of the *Chabad* hierarchy on the death of his father. There followed a period of intense activity in which the foundation of *yeshivoth*, or rabbinical academies, to spread the influence of *Chabad* was a major achievement. As a result of his steadfast leadership of Russian Jewry, in the face of government persecution and secret police denunciation, he was imprisoned several times and finally fled to Riga in Latvia. After moving to several other centres, he transferred to America in 1940.

In the ten years that followed, the Rabbi again engaged in unremitting activity to spread *Chabad*: foundation of a publishing company (Kehot Publication Society), a library, and a number of societies associated with Jewish literature and music. A major achievement was to found the United Lubavitcher *Yeshivoth Tomche - Tmimim* of the U.S.A. and Canada, and a central organization for Jewish education - *Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch*. Networks of educational institutions were established in North Africa and in Israel. A school was established in Melbourne, Australia (Mindel, 1956: xi).

The present leader of *Chabad* Chassidism is Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson the son-in-law of Rabbi Joseph Isaac, whose 'court' is in Brooklyn, New York. Under his direction, the Lubavitcher Movement, as it is now generally known, has become 'one of the most intense religious brotherhoods in the modern world' (Epstein, 1959: 281). Highly organized on modern lines, with its own publishing facilities, it supports a growing network of schools, and trains 'missionary-minded mystics'. As a form of 'outreach technique' these are sent around America and to Jewish communities in other parts of the world to encourage young Jews to return to religious life and practice.[16]

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[14] See Appendix 4.1 for a genealogy of the heads of *Chabad*.

[15] Chassidic leaders are commonly referred to by the name of the town where they establish courts - thus the 'Gerer Rabbi' (Rabbi of Ger), 'Lubavitcher Rabbi' (Rabbi of Lubavitch).

The Lubavitcher Rebbe is still able to attract to him a following of devoted Chassidim. In March 1970 he celebrated the twentieth anniversary of his leadership of the Movement at the Lubavitcher Centre and headquarters. Over 7000 people attended including representative Jews of all continents.[17] The Rebbe's address lasted six hours, and during brief intermissions the assembled Chassidim and guests sang *niggunim.*[18]

(4) Origins and foundation of the school

The origins of the Lubavitcher Movement in Australia can be traced to a patriarchal head of a large family who established a farm in the Shepparton district of Victoria in the mid-1920's. His sons became influential members of the Lubavitcher and other Orthodox congregations in Melbourne. One has been President of the School Council for a number of years.

Following the pattern which established the movement in America after the Second World War, the father was instrumental in assisting with the rescue of immigrants from Eastern Europe among whom were two Lubavitcher rabbis. These were helped to settle in Melbourne along with others gradually attracted to the area. One of the rabbis, later to become the Director of the Rabbinical College or *Yeshivah Gedolah*, took one or two pupils in a small house in an inner suburb of Melbourne as is the Orthodox tradition. Gradually a small group of teachers got together there to establish a formal Jewish school. This transferred to a private house on the present site of the school where primary Grades only were taught. These gradually expanded, although in the late 1950's the size of the school only took in Grades 1-4.

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[16] In 1970 some 75 two-member teams of teenage boys, volunteers from students at the rabbinial seminary, toured every section of the United States, (*The Australian Jewish News*, February 13, 1970).

[17] *The Australian Jewish News*, March 6, 1970.

[18] *Niggun*, plur. *niggunim* (Heb.) 'Melody', 'tune'.

In this instance, the school was not set up at the direct instigation of the Lubavitcher Rebbe but gradually grew up around a group of Lubavitcher adherents. The school presented its first matriculation students in 1965 - an accepted sign of a school's 'arrival' on the education scene. The Australian Rabbinical College was founded in 1967 around a nucleus of the first six American Rabbinical students sent by the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

The Rabbinical College attracts post-matriculation students, who wish to advance their Jewish studies. Some choose to study there for a year or two before proceeding to university in some cases, or into outside occupations. A small number study as the basis for further training in the Rabbinical College as a prerequisite of becoming rabbis.

(5) The Academic Tradition

(a) Roots of the tradition - the early schools

By becoming established at the time it did, the school inevitably inherited a version of the Academic Tradition that characterizes much of the teaching in most Independent (Private) schools and a proportion of State high schools in Victoria. The immediate roots of this tradition are far less ancient than those of the Great Tradition. In the case of Australia, they stretch no farther back than the beginning of the nineteenth century. During this period, early private school education was largely classical in content based on the intellectual disciplines of Greek, Latin and Mathematics.

The following thirty years saw a sustained challenge to classical studies, through the introduction into Independent schools of such 'modern' subjects as English and French, particularly in the short-lived phase of corporate secondary school education which occurred during the early 1830's. This was inaugurated by Scottish headmasters and teachers, and modelled on the public academies and city high schools of Scotland. By 1840, 'a decidedly middle-class type of curriculum had developed in which the humanities were but one group of studies among several, and were themselves as much "modern" as classical' (French, 1959: 36). Despite this however, the curriculum was still basically academic in the sense of not offering vocational subjects.

The following phase of developments in the State school systems established between 1872 and 1893 might have been expected to liberalize studies even further. In the outcome, however, this proved not to be the case. Supposedly, these systems, existing alongside non-State, denominational and Independent schools, 'were self-contained, efficient, utilitarian and authoritarian'. In practice, however, 'efficiency was measured by attendance and strict observance of prescribed courses of study. Attainment was measured by public examinations' (Encel, 1970: 415). When this dual system collapsed, as McLaren notes (1968: 4), 'it left as its legacy this stern deference to outside standards and to superior authority which has cursed Australian schools ever since'. Although the early twentieth century saw the growth of comprehensive systems of State education, with multi-lateral type high schools offering a choice of several courses, these developments did little substantially to alter the force of McLaren's comment. Reasons for this must be sought in the second of the Academic Tradition's roots.

(b) Roots of the tradition - university control over the curriculum

The challenge to the classical tradition that had taken place in the early 1800's was partly negated by the universities of Sydney and Melbourne. These opened in 1852 and 1855 respectively, and instituted matriculation examinations governed by regulations calculated to reinstate the Classics. The large number of 'modern' subjects that had come into the curriculum during the previous three decades was omitted, and schools, perforce, had to curtail their courses accordingly. 'The control of the school curriculum, in the universities' view, was one of their natural rights... The schools, indeed, were not being asked to restore Classics to some of their former eminence; they were being directed to do so' (French, 1959: 38).

To counter this control, schools offered 'commerce courses' to non-university aspirants. In time the universities themselves tempered their requirements. For instance, in 1862, Melbourne University added French and German to the other 'modern' subjects of English, History and Geography that had been made subjects of the matriculation examination in 1855. In 1881, Melbourne University also added four branches of science to its list of matriculation subjects. Their range and diversity meant that the Melbourne University matriculation examination became something like the public examinations that universities in other States had established on the lines of the Oxford and Cambridge model. Despite these departures from classical orthodoxy, the curriculum related to the matriculation examination remained essentially academic.

For small schools there was little alternative. Lack of teachers for non-academic courses resulted in all pupils being drafted into the one matriculation course. Even in the comprehensive-type State high schools, offering a number of courses, a similar trend occurred at a time in the early 1900's when universities were adding 'utilitarian' subjects to the matriculation and public examination list, and dropping subject prerequisites for university entry. Paradoxically, a tendency for academic specialization in schools resulted when universities relaxed the requirement that a foreign language and a branch of mathematics were compulsory for anybody contemplating a university course.

The Independent schools reacted to the liberalisation of the pre-Second World War period in two ways. They added refinements of the 'classical' and 'commercial' courses devised almost a century earlier and, where big enough, adopted a multi-lateral organization. The latter made slight provision for vocational and technical training, but detailed provision for various kinds of 'professional' courses (ibid., p. 52). As entry to the professions still largely depended on success at the matriculation examination, if not a university degree, the curricula of the Independent schools, by and large, remained academic.

(c) Lubavitcher School's heritage

From such roots flowered the academic heritage of Lubavitcher School. Like others of similar small size, it had no option but to offer an academic curriculum as mounting vocational subjects was, and still is, beyond its resources. At the secondary level the major, if not exclusive, preoccupation of pupils and lay staff alike is to prepare for the public and university examinations in the fifth and sixth years.[19] These are clearly valued as a means to an end, namely, preparing for and gaining access to tertiary education.

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[19] In 1969 these were still the School Leaving and Matriculation Examinations.

The school is not alone in taking such a view. It had been endorsed as late as 1960 by the influential Ramsay Report on Victorian Education (Blake, 1973: 543). The Committee responsible for the Report remained unconvinced that examinations were undesirable or needed replacement. It strongly recommended the retention of formal examinations and recognized that those at the matriculation level came within the province of the university.

In an analysis of the myths of Australian education, Connell (1970: 254) has pointed to a 'normal line of progression from primary to secondary school to university [which is] thought to be the natural progression and the desirable aspiration for those who are able to pursue the path'. Unhappily, the same progression has tended to influence pupils, who are not academically able, to pursue the path, so dominant is the preoccupation with getting to the sixth or matriculation year.

A further effect of the examination fixation has been to determine the curriculum, not only at the matriculation year but also during the years prior to it. In order to be eligible to sit for the matriculation examinations, various combinations and groupings of subjects have to be obtained at the fifth year or School Leaving Examination.[20] This in turn has exercised its influence on subjects chosen in the preceding fourth year, and so on down to the previous levels. An inevitable result has been the need for a child to select his subjects at too early an age with an eye to their usefulness as keys to unlock the various doors *en route* to matriculation, and for the teacher to design a great deal of his syllabuses towards the same end. Academic subjects dominate the curriculum. Vocational subjects are rejected.

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[20] See *Handbook of Directions and Prescriptions for 1969*, The Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board, Melbourne, 1968, pp. 13-15. The terms 'Directions' and 'Prescriptions' have obvious authoritarian connotations.

(d) Prudential elements in the Academic Tradition

Closely allied to the Academic Tradition - in Connell's view forming a tradition on its own (ibid., p. 259) - is the prudential view taken of Australian education particularly by parents and pupils. This element is particularly marked in the Jewish school.

> It looks for a tangible value for money spent. If a parent pays fees for his son's education, he wants to see a tangible return in the shape of an examination certificate for his expenditure, and he judges the worth of the school by the number of such certificates that the school pupils earn each year. The pupil, in his turn, is usually interested to know what good a particular subject or topic is to him from the point of view of his future career, and he will be reluctant to study it if it cannot be shown to have a bread and butter relevance to a career or to a public examination which he regards as a prerequisite to the search for a suitable job.

In this view, basically non-utilitarian academic subjects provide the programme for clear economic ends.

(e) The effect of scholarship examinations

A further economic pressure is present in the Commonwealth Government's Tertiary and Secondary Scholarships schemes. Designed to reduce inequalities of educational opportunity by assisting able but financially disadvantaged children, they exacerbate the situation facing pupils. Both are based on examinations. The Commonwealth tertiary scholarships for continuing education at university were instituted in 1951. They are awarded on the basis of high results obtained in the university matriculation examination, and thus compound its highly competitive character.

The Commonwealth Secondary Scholarships Examination (C.S.S.E.), for which students sit in the middle of their fourth year, is designed by the Australian Council for Educational Research, on a national basis.[21] It is a supposedly objective measure of developed ability in mathematics, science, expression and the humanities. Yet, an academic orientation is obvious in those areas tested, with some apparent undue advantage to those students who have elected to study sciences and mathematics. Regardless of these drawbacks, however, the scholarships have the overall effect of strengthening the part examinations play in the Academic Tradition.

(6) The literati of the Academic Tradition

As with the Great Tradition, 'literati' have played an important part in shaping the Academic Tradition in Australian education. As this has been bound up with obtaining qualifications for university entrance, the majority of the literati have come inevitably from the ranks of the universities themselves.

The post-Second World War period in the State of Victoria is illustrative, and of immediate relevance for the school. Between 1944 and 1964 the Victorian Matriculation Examination was directly controlled by the Professorial Board of Melbourne University.[22] Monash University started teaching in 1961, but it was not until January 1st 1965 that the two universities set up the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board to coordinate the work of conducting their entrance requirements. Initially the Board was composed of thirty eight members. When La Trobe

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[21] See more detailed description in Chapter 9.

[22] These and following details are found in Blake, (1973) pp. 567 ff. and the V.U.S.E.B. *Handbook of Directions and Prescriptions for 1969.*

University (established 1967) was given a share of membership, and Monash University grew to approach equality of representation with Melbourne University, the total membership of the Board also increased. In 1970 it numbered forty-three members, with a ratio of university interests to school interests standing at twenty to fourteen. As Blake comments (1973: 571): 'With the growth of Monash University and the establishment of La Trobe, V.U.S.E.B. made successive adjustments to university representation in the light of enrolments. It would appear to have been less sensitive to the changing situation in schools'.

The actual work of the Board is carried out by a large number of Standing Committees for the academic subject areas offered at the matriculation level.[23] The constitution of each Standing Committee also emphasizes the strength of university representation.[24] Although Committees vary according to the size of subject areas, almost half the numbers on each are drawn from university ranks. The remainder represent non-university organizations, of which the majority are associated with the State Education Department. Two representatives are from organizations which might reasonably be expected to have an academic orientation. These are the Catholic Education Office and the Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria (I.A.R.T.V.), which is closely connected with the major Independent schools.

A majority of the literati of the Academic Tradition and its endemic examinations are thus themselves academics of university status. Their influence on school curricula has been a pervasive one. Connell suggests two features that have characterized this influence (1970: 257). Firstly, university personnel have played a major part in designing the syllabuses upon which the university entrance examinations have been based. Secondly, their influence has been a one-way arrangement, stretching from the university at the top down through and on into the primary level, with little reciprocal influence from this level filtering back up again. A major result of this arrangement has been that all levels of teaching have become dominated by the final matriculation examination. Even in schools with relative autonomy to devise their own syllabuses, there has been a strong tendency to select what is taught in the light of its potential advantage as preparation for sixth Form studies. The outcomes of these influences are quite apparent in the Lubavitcher School, as they are in many other Independent and high schools throughout the State.

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[23] Those available in 1969 are listed in Appendix 4.3.

[24] The regulations governing the constitution of a Standing Committee are given in Appendix 4.2.

(7) Summary

From the beginnings of a mystical pietist movement originating in Eastern Europe in 1700, although having far more ancient Biblical roots, a sophisticated, high-powered missionary-minded organization has come to be centred in New York. Its influence spreads to numerous countries, including Australia, especially through a network of education institutions. This is the Lubavitcher Movement.

Basic to the Movement have always been the literati, those responsible for fostering a Great Tradition in the form of learned rabbis, *saddikim* and *rebbes*. These have been concerned to spread knowledge of the *Chabad* - Chassidic way of life, which is firmly grounded on fundamental values of Orthodox Rabbinical Judaism. Their representatives were responsible for founding the school and its associated religious organizations. The Lubavitcher ideology and traditions are thus actively promoted in this immediate socio-cultural system, and through outreach contacts into the wider Jewish community.

State high schools, Independent schools and Lubavitcher School in particular have preserved a traditional form of academic education with roots in nineteenth century English, university and public school scholarship. The innate conservatism of this Academic Tradition is bolstered by the control of the universities over examinations and curricula, which are oriented towards the final matriculation examination on which university entry depends. Lubavitcher School has chosen to follow this tradition in virtually an undiluted form, partly because its small size precludes it from offering vocational subjects, but also because the community attached to the school values academic scholarship and the attainment of entry to one of the Victorian universities or tertiary institutions. The conservative posture is also due to the influence of the academic literati, through the external examination system for which the school prepares its students.

The evidence about the historical roots of both Traditions suggests that the adoption of the term 'tradition' for the ideas and values of the Lubavitcher variant of Orthodox Judaism, on the one hand, and the academic emphasis in education, on the other, is theoretically valid. What has been described fulfils the criteria of existence some time in the past and belief in the value of the institution in the present. Obviously the current generation at Lubavitcher School is not indifferent about those parts of its Judaic and secular, academic heritage to which it is heir. It remains to be established what values and value orientations are the mainspring of each of the Traditions. This is taken up in the following chapter. How 'malleable' the Traditions are is considered in Part 4.

CHAPTER 4

VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND VALUES IN THE TWO TRADITIONS

(1) Sources of data for content analysis

(a) The Great Tradition

Sources of the value orientations and values which provide the 'core meanings' of the Great Tradition comprise a vast compilation of material or 'charter' dating from Biblical times. Content analysis presents formidable problems, not the least of which is that 'there is no monolithic system of Jewish values but a series of complex applications of Jewish truth in which the more subtle distinctions and shades of meaning were debated at length by the best Jewish intellects' (Jacobs, 1960: 9). The rigour of their analysis is conveyed by the Talmudic Hebrew term *pardes*. This refers to the initial letters of four types of Biblical exegesis of increasing levels of depth and sophistication: *peshat* (literal meaning), *remez* (veiled allusion), *derash* (homiletic interpretation), and *sod* (esoteric significance).

In the light of this tradition, it is necessary to recognize that any analysis of Judaic value orientations and values can only approximate to a systematic review, and must necessarily be selective and restricted to the more superficial levels of *peshat* and *remez*. No review can claim to set out an authoritative formulation of the tenets of the Jewish faith, as such dogmatics are alien to Judaism (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 119). While not claiming to be in any way comprehensive, the summary drawn up in this chapter attempts to systematize a number of the more fundamental values, not in a way that an Orthodox Jew might do so, but for heuristic purposes and subsequent analysis of the school's social organization of tradition.

As primary sources I have taken the Pentateuch,[1] supplemented by the Talmud, as codified in the *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch* or *Code of Jewish Law* (Ganzfried, 1961), together with related Lubavitcher exegesis. The legislator of the Pentateuch, which is the foundation of the Oral and Written Law (Heb. *Torah*), is believed with absolute faith to be Moses, inspired by God. The Law as received by Moses on Mount Sinai 'is [thus] Divine and contains the final revelation of God - the highest wisdom and absolute truth' (Brasch, 1969: 7). It outlines the principles of the faith, laws of holiness and the Ten Commandments. Being the basis for both the later Talmud and Prayer Book it is thus a potential source of value orientations which can be compiled from charter analysis. As Epstein has commented (1959: 30):

> [It] embraces the whole of life with its activities. All the common ways of life, all human interests, come under its rule. Thus, the Torah becomes a means for strengthening the supremacy of the divine holy will as the measure of all strivings of the human heart, and for bringing all the details of life, individual and corporate, into relation with the service of God.

(b) The Academic Tradition

There is no comparable charter for the Academic Tradition. However a summary of values and value orientations can be assembled from various educational and sociological sources relating to the Independent school system in Victoria. They are also described in literature relating to the wider Australian society, which is a source of data. Thus, in what follows, I use the categories developed in the previous chapter to summarize the major values and value orientations of the Great Tradition of Judaism. Where they can be identified with confidence, I summarize those that appear to validate the Academic Tradition.

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[1] Two editions are used: *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs* Second Edition, Soncino Press, (Hertz, 1967); and *The Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth, and Rashi's Commentary*, trans. M. Rosenbaum & A.M. Silbermann. The Hebrew edition of the latter is used by boys at the school.

(2) Man-Universe orientation

(a) The Great Tradition

The whole universe, its 'frame and furniture', and known realm of existence, comprising the visible world in its two parts - that which is above (heaven) and that which is below (earth) - is conceived as having been created out of nothing (*ex nihilo*) by a single power source, a deity termed God (Heb. *Elohim*).[2] 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth' (Gen. 1:1).[3] The Hebrew term for creating, i.e. producing something out of nothing, is logically used for the Divinity, who is the only Being capable of such an act. Man, on the other hand, may only be referred to as 'making' or 'forming', but never as 'creating' (Hertz, 1967: 2, f.n.1). The act of Creation is emphasized in the Liturgy at several places, for example: 'Blessed be he who spake, and the world came into existence: blessed be he: blessed be he who was the maker of the world in the beginning'.[4] It is also enshrined in the first of the Thirteen Principles of the Jewish faith of Maimonides: 'I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, blessed be his Name, is the Author and

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[2] *Elohim* (Heb.) - the general designation of the Divine Being in the Bible, implying the fountain and source of all things.

[3] Genesis, the Greek or Septuagint term for the first book of the Pentateuch, means 'origin'. The Hebrew term for the same book, *Bereshith*, is derived from the first Hebrew word of the opening sentence - 'In the beginning'.

[4] Preliminaries to Morning Service, B. Psalms and Passages of Song *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book with Commentary* (Hertz, 1963), p. 51 and footnotes.

Guide of everything that has been created, and that he alone has made, does make, and will make all things'.[5]

Creation is thus conceived as being continuous, rather than a single act of God. This is an interpretation of Scripture: 'And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; because that in it He rested from all His work which God in creating had made' (Gen. 2:3). The implication of the phrase 'in creating had made' is considered to mean literally 'which God created to make', i.e. to continue acting throughout time by the unceasing operation of Divine laws (Hertz, 1967: 6, f.n. 3). The teachings of *Chabad* stress the *continuous* nature of Creation (Mindel, 1966: 25; Schneersohn, 1961: 21). It also features in the Liturgy associated with the Blessings before the *Shema*: '... and in thy goodness renewest the creation every day continually'.[6]

Throughout the cosmogony, the diety God is considered to be the sole source of all power in the universe. 'God gives existence and life to the universe and everything that exists. He is the Source of all life ... there is a constant flow of "life" from the Source of all Life - from God - to this earth' (Mindel, 1966: 25). God is Omnipresent. The *Shechinah* or Divine Presence is both Immanent in Creation and manifest in the life of man 'dwelling' in the midst of Israel (Exod. 25:8, 33:13-14; Lev. 16:16). 'There is no place without *Shechinah*' (Midrash *Exod. Rab.* ii, 9).[7]

God is Omnipotent. The name *Shaddai*, 'Almighty', is one of the Thirteen Attributes of God (Exod. 34:6), and receives frequent mention throughout the Bible (e.g. Gen. 17:1, 35:4; Exod. 9:16; Deut. 9:29). God's Omnipotence - often described in anthropomorphic terms - is a frequent theme in Scripture: 'The Lord is a man of war, the Lord is His name ... Thy right hand, O Lord, glorious in power, Thy right hand, O Lord, dasheth in pieces the enemy' (Exod. 15:3, 6).

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[5] *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, p. 249.

[6] Ibid., p. 109.

[7] *Shechinah* (Heb.) 'indwelling', is derived from the verb 'to dwell'. *Midrash* (Heb.) 'to inquire'; the body of literature which interprets Scripture to extract its full implications and meanings.

God is conceived to be Unity in both Scripture (Deut. 6:4) and Liturgy.[8] The *Shema*, 'Hear, O Israel: The Lord Our God, the Lord is One', is a clear, unequivocal statement of the ethical monotheism first conceived by Abraham (Gen. 12:1-4). It implies in addition that God is both sole - because there is no other God than He - and Unique, wholly unlike anything else in existence (Hertz, 1967: 770, f.n. 4).

A number of the Attributes of God are of such fundamental importance in the *Torah* that they can be considered as transcendental values pervading all value orientations. The Attributes are Holiness (Heb. *kadosh*), Compassion (Heb. *rahamim*), Justice and Mercy. In rabbinical literature, the most common epithet for God is 'The Holy One, blessed be He' (Heb. *Hakadosh Baruch Hu*). However, as Werblowsky and Wigoder point out (1965: 189): 'Holiness is not so much an abstract or a mystic idea as a regulative principle in the everyday life of men and women'. 'Ye shall be holy' is the dominant theme in Leviticus 19, the so-called 'Chapter of Holiness'.

God is also referred to as the Compassionate One, and man is enjoined to imitate this Attribute. 'As God is compassionate, be thou compassionate' (Midrash *Siphrei Ekev* 89). Closely related is the designation of the Eternal as 'A merciful God and gracious, long-suffering and abounding in steadfast love and truth' (Exod. 34:6). The Attribute of Mercy is also expressed through the Tetragrammaton, YHVH. The Divine Name, *Elohim*, expresses the Attribute of Justice.

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[8] *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, p. 117 *et passim*. The term *Shema* (Heb.) 'Hear' is the first word of this fundamental statement of faith.

The relationship of man to the power source is firstly that of a being created by God. 'And God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them' (Gen. 1:27). Man is made in the image - 'in the type that was specially made for him' (Rashi) - and after the likeness of God. 'Man and woman both alike are in their spiritual nature akin to God' (Hertz, 1967: 5, f.n. 26). The more intimate relationship with God, over and above that of the rest of the animal kingdom is implied in the use of the phrase 'and God said unto them' in addition to 'And God blessed them' (Gen. 1:28), which is used in describing all other acts of Creation (Hertz, 1967: 5, f.n. 28).

Man owes obedience to God on a number of grounds. He is a child of God, 'for in the image of God made He man' (Gen. 9:6). For the Jewish people, the children of Israel, this is reinforced by a Covenant relationship with God. It was first established with Abraham, and 'sealed in the flesh' (Heb. *berit*) by the rite of circumcision (Gen. 17:7-12). Subsequently it was renewed with Isaac and Jacob (Gen. 26:2-5, 24; 35:9-15), and confirmed at Sinai before the whole people. Here it was embodied in a code of law, 'the two tables of the testimony, tables of stone written with the finger of God' (Exod. 31:16-18). The Covenant's outward signs of circumcision and Sabbath observance testify to its permanent validity.

The Jewish people are taught to consider themselves the children of God owing Him unquestioned obedience and service (Deut. 14:1; 32:5). As Rabbi Akiba said, 'Blessed are Israel in that they were called children of God' (*Avot* 3: 18). A related notion is that of Divine sonship. Man (Israel) is the son of God, the term being first used of those that adhere to the true worship of God (Hertz, 1967: 19, f.n. 2), and later specifically in relation to Israel as a nation. 'And thou shalt say unto pharaoh: Thus saith the Lord: Israel is My son, My first-born' (Exod. 4:22).[9] The term first-born implies 'the universal fatherhood of God. The other nations, too, are God's children; and in Abraham's seed, spiritually the first-born among them, "all the families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 12:3)' (Hertz, 1967: 221, f.n. 22).

The extension of Divine sonship to men of other creeds and nations has important consequences (Cohon, 1948: 156):

> As a child of God, man may not be degraded to a mere cog of either the industrial or the political order. He forms a center of human value and is an end in himself. The worth of the individual is fundamental to the democratic spirit of Judaism.

Coupled with the concept of Divine sonship is the service the children of Israel owe to God. 'For unto Me the children of Israel are servants; they are My servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; I am the Lord your God' (Lev. 25:55). This implies that God has prior claim on the children of Israel - 'My (God's) document (deed of purchase) is of an earlier date' (Rashi) - thus an Israelite can never be more than nominally a slave to any human master (Hertz, 1967: 537, f.n. 42). Service of God is the highest honour. Both as servants and sons of God the Jewish people are called upon to act as God's witnesses before all nations (Is. 43:10-12).

Closely related is the concept of Jews as the chosen people which is referred to frequently in the Bible and Jewish Liturgy. 'For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God, and the Lord has chosen thee to be His treasure out of all peoples that are upon the face of the earth' (Deut. 14:2). This concept has received interpretations varying from the existence of a moral and even racial excellence in the Jewish people as such, resulting in an ethnocentric view of world history, to that of the chosen people being a 'holy nation'. 'Now therefore, if ye will hearken unto My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be Mine own treasure from among all peoples; for all the earth is Mine; and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation'(Exod. 19:5-6). Hertz (1967: 291, f.n. 5) points out that this does not imply any thought of favouritism in God's choice. 'Israel's call has not been to privilege and rulership, but to martyrdom and service'.[10]

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[9] Note the wording of the Rashi edition '... *even* my first-born'. The term 'firstborn' denotes high dignity (Rashi).

Relationships between man and God are based on fear, i.e. awe, which is regarded as the basis of Jewish religious awareness (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 143). Israel is repeatedly exhorted in the Pentateuch to fear God: 'And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord' (Deut. 10:12). Said Rabbi Antigonus of Sokho, 'let the fear of heaven be upon thee' (*Avot* 1: 3). Coupled with awe is love of God which is held to be a supreme religious value. 'And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might' (Deut. 6:5). Hertz comments (1967: 770, f.n. 5): 'This is the first instance in human history that the *love* of God was demanded in any religion'. Later rabbinical thinking further developed the idea, adding mystical connotations in the Middle Ages. 'According to the Talmud the highest form of service of God is "service out of love" as contrasted with "service out of fear" (*Ned.* 31a)' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 242). Love leads man to cleave to God (Heb. *devekut*), imitating His attributes of mercy and kindness (ibid., p. 114).[11]

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[10] Compare Rashi's view, however, that Israel is 'a cherished treasure *more than* other peoples' (my italics).

(b) The Academic Tradition

Analysis of the same value orientation in the available literature on the Academic Tradition does not produce a similar codified and definitive statement of man's cosmological views, even though the religious element of the Academic Tradition is of Judaeo-Christian origin, and, in the final analysis, stems from the same Biblical source. Much of Christian Liturgy derives from the Jewish.

What is the attitude of the Australian population at large to the man-universe orientation? An Australian Public Opinion Polls survey in December 1968 cited by Inglis (1970: 447) showed that 87.2 percent of the total sample believed in the existence of God, and 64.9 percent in Heaven. A Gallup Poll International survey in 1969 cited by Mol (1971: 42) found comparable figures, 87 and 65 percent respectively. At least nominally, there is some support for these components of this value orientation. It is problematical, however, whether it indicates that Australian society as a whole is religious. McLeod has commented (1963: 6) that religion 'has been singularly absent as a cultural force in Australia'. The comment of Cox, cited by Mol (op. cit., p. 328), may have force in the Australian context: 'for fewer and fewer (people) does (religion) provide an inclusive and commanding system of personal and cosmic values and explanations'.

The Academic Tradition derived from the British model has an 'ethos impregnated with the Arnoldian Tradition' (Neal, 1969: 127). It fosters an image of the 'Christian gentleman' which has been quoted with approval by subsequent Independent school headmasters (Encel, 1970: 426). The term presupposes at least token belief in the existence of God and Jesus His Son, but, as McLaren has observed (1968: 14), 'the schools have largely subordinated their ostensible religious aims until they have become merely a kind of genuflection in the direction of well-bred decency, a code in which loyalty to the sovereign rates well ahead of any unbecoming concern with the ways of the Almighty'.

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[11] Love of God as the basis of Jewish life and human relationships is discussed below.

However, the professed religious aims of Independent schools supposedly constitute one of the characteristics differentiating them from so-called 'secular' State schools, despite provision under 'right of entry' clauses for representatives of recognized religious bodies to give religious instruction to children of those parents who wish them to receive it. In Victorian State schools, such instruction is given in normal class groups using an agreed syllabus by instructors who are visitors to the schools, rather than by professional teachers employed by the Education Department. In some State schools, an affirmation of religious faith and belief in God is linked with an oath of national allegiance and loyalty to the Queen in the flag-raising ceremony usually held at the Monday morning assembly.

Adherence to religion and belief in God seem at best to be peripheral rather than central to the Academic Tradition. As Freeman Butts has observed in his study of Australian education (1955: 25): 'You accept religious instruction and religious observances in the public schools as a matter of course ... but ... you do not take religion very seriously'. Most Australians approve of religion, but in the opinion of one Methodist newspaper the average Australian is a 'nominal Christian ....right there on the fringe of the Church's life' (Inglis, 1970: 441, 443). Hansen (1971: 142) has shown how this attitude is mirrored in the so-called Church schools where religion also has a low status.

Some caution should be exercised, however, in claiming that the Australian society is predominantly secular. As Mol has suggested (1971: 209):

> Even if we accept that the scientific ethos and religious ideology have some contradictory traits, that still should not lead us to presume that human beings must have a logically consistent view of life or that all educated people make scientific method into a system of meaning embracing all phenomena. Religion has important integrative functions in the non-rational realm of human existence.

It seems clear that the man-universe orientation of the Great Tradition is available to the boys attending Lubavitcher School in a highly articulated form, whereas its counterpart in the Academic Tradition is diffuse and largely ineffectual, even in the Independent schools which profess to follow the Academic Tradition.

(3) Man-nature orientation

(a) The Great Tradition

Man has dominion over all living things on earth, and has been given the task of replenishing and subduing it (Gen. 1:27-30):

> And God created man in His own image ... male and female created He them. And God blessed them; and God said unto them: 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that creepeth upon the earth'. And God said: 'Behold, I have given you every herb yielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed - to you it shall be for food; and to

> every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is a living soul, (I have given) every green herb for food. And it was so.

Originally man is placed on a level with cattle and beasts in respect of eating similar food. When the era of the Sons of Noah began man was permitted to eat meat (Rashi on Gen. 1:30). 'Every moving thing that liveth shall be for food for you; as the green herb have I given you all' (Gen. 9:3).

Man is not granted unbridled dominion over nature, as the principle of righteousness governs both animate and inanimate creation. His conduct towards animals in particular is subject to numerous laws designed to protect them against pain, disease, hunger and overwork (e.g. Exod. 23:5; Deut. 22:4-7, 25:4). 'Extraordinary solicitude for animals is one of the most distinctive features of Jewish ethics' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 32). 'The righteous man regardeth the life of his beast' (Prov. 12:10). The prohibition against consuming the blood of animal flesh - 'Only flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat' (Gen. 9:4) - has been the basis for detailed laws in Talmud regarding the ritual slaughter (Heb. *Shechitah*) and preparation of meat. The former is designed, among other things, to minimize pain to the slain animal (Hertz, 1967: 855, f.n. 4).

Jewish dietary laws are regarded by the rabbis to lead to self-discipline and obedience to God, as a way of attaining holiness (Lev. 11: 44-45). Thus certain kinds of animals are declared clean and fit for human consumption (*kosher*) and others unclean and unfit. Their consumption is forbidden (*terephah*). The twofold division is first established in the story of Noah, and the list of clean and unclean animals is elaborated in considerable detail in later Books of the Bible (Gen. 7:2; Lev. 11:1-47; Deut. 14:3-25). In general, clean quadrupeds are those that both chew the cud and have cloven hooves: on this basis, for instance, pigs are forbidden diet, probably the most well-known prohibition. Clean marine animals are those with both fins and scales, thus shell-fish are excluded. A number of birds are likewise excluded, mainly those that are birds of prey. All reptiles and insects are forbidden with the exception of four special types of locusts mentioned in the Bible. A prohibition against seething a kid in its mother's milk, repeated three times in the Bible, is claimed by some authoritaries to have been enjoined on humanitarian grounds (Exod. 23:19, 34:26; Deut. 16:21). It has led to rules strictly forbidding mixture of meat and milk dishes both during their preparation and consumption.[12]

Some agrarian produce is subject to laws designed to protect certain species. For instance, there is a Biblical prohibition (Deut. 20: 19-20) against destroying fruit-bearing trees (Heb. *Bal Tashchit* 'do not destroy'), which was later extended in Talmud to cover all senseless destruction or waste (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 56). It is particularly forbidden to damage or waste food, especially bread.

Man is thus constrained in numerous ways in his relationships with nature and its biotic resources. He is able to use his powers and intellect to overcome those that threaten him. 'Through these endeavours man attains the fulness of his powers. In the language of the rabbis he becomes a co-worker with God (Heb. *Shutaph l'hakkadosh baruch hu*) in the on-going tasks of creation. Every human being is both an instrument and an agent of creative life' (Cohon, 1962: 172). It is to God that the truly Orthodox

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[12] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 46: 5.

Jew addresses Benedictions on seeing such natural phenomena as fruit trees in blossom, shooting stars, and a rainbow.[13] 'Moreover, when man fulfills his duty and mission in life, not only does he attain his own goal in the scheme of Creation imposed upon him by the Creator, but he also helps the rest of the world around him, including the animal, organic, and inorganic "kingdoms" to attain theirs ... This world then becomes truly "an abode" for the Creator' (Mindel, 1966: 23-24).

(b) The Academic Tradition

There is very little in the Academic Tradition which compares to such detailed and codified rules. The most obvious difference is the complete absence of anything like the Jewish dietary laws, whose purpose is to make Jews 'a people apart, distinguished from all others by outward rites which in themselves helped to constitute Holiness' (Hertz, 1967: 448, f.n.). Regarding care of animals, on which such stress is laid in Judaism, one might assume that the Christian ethic basic to the Academic Tradition would also embrace this concept. However, Hertz has pointed to a reverse situation (ibid., p. 854 f.n.):

> The duties to our dumb friends have been strangely overlooked in most ethical systems, not excluding Christianity. Paul dismisses as idle sentimentalism the notion of man's duty to animals ... And this remained the attitude of the Church till recent times. 'In the range and circle of duties', says the historian Lecky, 'inculcated by the early Fathers, those to animals had no place'.

Concern for nature does feature in the growing trend in Independent and some State schools to run camps or properties in the country, to which pupils are sent for some weeks, and thus benefit from contact with nature and wildlife. The objectives of such schemes are not unmixed with ulterior motives, as they also include

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[13] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 60: 1-6.

> the developing of self-reliance and independence, the training of practical and physical competence, the satisfying of the desire for adventure and the less-recognized relationship between man and nature, with its understanding of the importance of the land, not only to those who work upon it, but to all men (Wilson, 1957: 43).

The general value placed on the mystique of the 'Australian bush' is clearly apparent in such enterprises. In some schools, whole Forms are sent to participate in them the best known example being Timbertop, the property of Geelong Grammar School at which all fourth Formers spend an entire year.

To what extent is the notion of man being a co-worker with God echoed in the Academic Tradition? From the point of view of the rational, scientific ethos of Australian society as a whole, the notion may not find support although, as we have seen, most people hold some belief in the existence of God. The idea has its nearest equivalent in the ideology of the Headmasters' Conference of Australia (Wilson, 1957: 46). One of its recommendations to the Prime Minister in 1943 was that Independent schools affiliated with the Conference could make a valuable contribution to a reformed education system through 'their efforts to train pupils to regard their life work as a vocation in the service of God and of the community'. The same author cites a broadcast talk by an Independent school chaplain in 1957, stressing that the advantage of some Independent schools is having their pupils under one management combining vocational, social and religious training. This fact 'offers the vital opportunity of giving the child the idea that whether he is doing his homework or playing football, he is doing it as a man walking in the sight of God, ... and to the greater glory of God'. Hansen's empirical survey of the attitudes held by sixth Form boys in six major Independent schools in Melbourne paints a different picture (1971: 23-25). A meritocratic approach, i.e. good learning, may once have been wedded to Christian humanism. 'If the current sixth Formers in the school are to be believed [however], then "good learning" prevails without the godliness that once attended it'.

(4) Man-community orientation

(a) The Great Tradition

The relationship of man to God imparts a special quality to his relationship to fellow man. A single ethical programme prevails based on the motive of *imitatio dei* with its dominant theme 'Ye shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy' (Lev. 19:2).[14] This transcendental value welds together the religious and moral sets of laws the *Torah* prescribes, and is the root of all Jewish ethics. Each of the sets has both negative and positive aspects. Those based on the concept of Justice - the negative and regulative aspect - seek to safeguard fundamental human rights. Those based on the idea of Righteousness - the creative and positive aspect - enjoin a person to have concern for those afflicted or worse off than himself, whether they are fellow humans or in the animal kingdom (Epstein, 1959: 23 ff.).

Imitatio dei is further implied by the Biblical commandment to 'cleave' to God (Deut. 10:20, 13:5). Literal observance is impossible, but as elaborated by the rabbis this means cleaving to God's qualities. The righteous man (Heb. *tzaddik*) is 'one who lives righteously by adhering to the Divine Law' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 332). In the words of the prophet Micah: 'It hath been told thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee: only to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God' (Mic. 6: 8). Collectively, Israel is exhorted 'Justice, justice shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee' (Deut. 16:20). Said Rabbi Chama bar Chanina, 'follow the attributes of God; as He clothes the naked, so do thou clothe the naked; as He visits the sick, so do thou visit the sick; as He comforts the mourners, so do thou comfort the mourners; and as He buries the dead, so do thou' (*Sot*. 14a).

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[14] The phrase is the keynote to the whole chapter, the so-called 'Chapter of Holiness', that follows (Hertz, 1967: 497, f.n. 2).

The Biblical command 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lev. 19:18) is the 'Golden Rule' in Judaism, which transcends and embraces all other ethical demands. It was taken up, commented on, and elaborated by the rabbis. Rabbi Akiba regarded it as the leading principle of the *Torah*, a view probably related to his emphasis on man as created in the Divine image (Cohon, 1962: 211). Hillel summarized the intent of the entire *Torah* in the words 'What is hateful unto thee, do not to thy fellow man' (*Sab*. 31a). The rule applies to both Jew and non-Jew of whatever race or creed. 'The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the home-born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself' (Lev. 19:34; Deut. 10:19).

The Golden Rule entails showing benevolence and loving kindness towards others: the 'practice of goodly deeds' (Heb. *gemiluth chasadim*) such as visiting the sick, paying last respects for the dead, and comforting mourners. It also embraces showing courtesy and considerate behaviour towards all men irrespective of faith or origin. The closely allied doctrine of forgiveness extended to those who offend is the basis of the Jewish ideal of conduct. 'They who are offended and do not offend, who are insulted and do not reply (in kind), who do God's will out of love and rejoice even in suffering, of them Scripture says (Judges 5:31) "His beloved ones are as the sun rising in might"' (*Yoma* 22a; *Sab*. 88b).

The Golden Rule also embraces charity (Heb. *tzedakah*), one of the three pillars on which the world is based (*Avot* 1: 2).[15] The practice of giving alms and assistance to the poor through material gifts constitutes man's recognition of the duties of brotherhood towards his fellow-man. Werblowsky and Wigoder state (1965: 85): 'Provision for those in want has at all times been regarded among Jews as a sacred duty. The very use of the word *Tzedakah* shows that the relief of poverty is a matter of duty and not voluntary philanthropy. This duty will never cease as long as "the poor shall not cease out of the land (Deut. 15: 11)"'.[16] Said Rabbi Joshua ben Karha, 'he who closes his eye to charity is like an idolator' (*Ket*. 68a; *Tos. Peah* 4:20; Midrash *Eccl. Rab*. 7:4).

The rabbis held *gemiluth chasadim* in even higher regard:

> In three respects is *gemiluth chasadim* superior to *tzedakah*: charity can be given only to the poor while *gemiluth chasadim* to both rich and to poor; charity can be given only to the living, *gemiluth chasadim* to both the living and the dead: charity can be given only in kind, *gemiluth chasadim* can be given both in kind and in personal service (*Tos. Peah* 4:19).

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[15] The other pillars, in the opinion of Simon the Just, are *Torah* and Divine service.

[16] The importance of charity and assistance given to the helpless are stressed throughout Scripture, e.g. Exod. 22:20-26, 23:6-12; Deut. 16:11; Is. 58:7; Prov. 31:20.

The concept occurs in the daily recital of the *Amidah* prayer or Eighteen Benedictions: 'the most high God, who bestoweth loving kindness'.[17]

Gemiluth chasadim and *tzedakah* are positive expressions of the concept of Holiness. On the negative side, it demands self-control in relation to both evil acts and evil desires. Talmudic teaching deals with numerous vices such as envy, greed and pride which poison man's social relationships (*Avot* 1: 1-4). Anger must also be checked in that it can lead to loss of self-control and undo much good that a person might have accomplished. Asked Rabbi Ben Zoma, 'Who is mighty? He who subdues his passions; as it is said, He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty' (*Avot* 4: 1).

These rabbinical aphorisms are balanced by others stressing the positive virtues eschewed by Judaism, such as contentment, joy in God, humility and a sense of moral unworthiness. 'Thus does humility become the foundation of all human behaviour, religious and social - the fear of the Lord' (Epstein, 1959: 158).

Higher still is love of God, a force impelling man to virtuous deeds that result in the 'sanctification of His Name' (Heb. *Kiddush Hashem*), by reflecting credit on the prestige of Judaism and Israel, particularly in the eyes of non-Jews. 'And ye shall not profane My holy name; but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel' (Lev. 22:32). The rabbis urged Jews to be guarded in their actions so that nothing might tarnish the honour of Judaism or of the Jew. Especially did they warn against any misdeed towards a non-Jew as an unpardonable sin, because it gives a false impression of the moral standard of Judaism (Hertz, 1967: 518-19, f.n. 32). Such unworthy acts are Profanation of the Divine Name (Heb. *Chillul Hashem*). The theme of *Kiddush Hashem* is the basis of many rabbinical aphorisms and anecdotes. Through it the Jew is urged to self-denial, self-restraint and self-sacrifice even to the extent of martyrdom.

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[17] *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, p. 131.
Amidah (Heb.) 'standing', i.e. a prayer recited in a standing position. The colloquial term used by *Ashkenazim* is *Shemoneh Esreh* (Heb.) 'Eighteen Benedictions'. *Ashkenazim* - Jews of the Western European tradition.

The many manifestations of the Golden Rule, Righteousness and Justice imply that man's moral behaviour is a form of group loyalty. 'The ethics of Judaism, therefore, concerns itself not only with the springs and motives of personal behavior but also with their relations to the community' (Cohon, 1962: 188). The rabbis emphasize that all Israelites are responsible for one another (*Sab.* 39a; *Sefer Haagadah* IV, 20-22). Said Rabbi Hillel, 'Separate not thyself from the congregation; trust not in thyself until the day of thy death' (*Avot* 2: 5). The 'whole congregation of Israel' (Heb. *Adas Yisroel* - Exod. 12:3; Lev. 19:2) is the term used for the community as a religious entity.

Congregational prayer is a major aspect of Jewish worship. A dominant motif of the formulae of confession on *Yom Kippur* is the use of the plural 'we'. When the congregation gathers the Divinity is held to be present. Said Rabbi Chalafta, 'When ten people sit together and occupy themselves with the Torah, the *Shechinah* abides among them; as it is said, God standeth in the congregation of the godly' (*Avot* 3: 7).[18]

The focal point of the congregation is the synagogue, an institution which originated during the Babylonian exile (*circa* 590 B.C.E.), according to rabbinical interpretation of Ezekial's assurance that God

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[18] The figure ten refers to the minimum quorum of ten Jewish males over thirteen years of age required for liturgical purposes, i.e. *Minyan* (Heb.) 'number'.

Himself would be 'a little sanctuary' (Heb. *mikdash me'at*) for the Jews in exile (Ezek. 11:15-16). The synagogue 'serves as the power-house of Jewish religious life' (Cohon, 1962: 340). Each synagogue is an independent organization performing two basic functions: a place for organized collective worship, and a place of religious instruction. Religious and communal life centres around it.

(b) The Academic Tradition

A number of striking parallels with the ethics of Judaism can be found in the tenets of Christianity nominally professed by the wider Australian society. The term 'Golden Rule', derived from Judaism, is also applied to the New Testament injunction 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law, the prophets' (Matt. 7:12; Luke 6:31). Emphasis on mercy, justice, righteousness is obvious in the Beatitudes (Matt. 5:3-12; Luke 6:20-38), and elsewhere in the teachings of Christ. The Decalogue, of which the last five Commandments outline man's duties towards his fellow-men, is shared by both faiths (Exod. 20:1-14; Deut. 5:6-18).

An emphasis on moral behaviour, rather than metaphysical aspects of religion, prevails in the religious instruction curricula of some State systems. Black suggests (1972: 257): 'Insofar as what is taught is identified with religion, the impression is likely to be conveyed that religion is chiefly a code of personal conduct and that the values upheld by the Christian religion are identical with the dominant values of Australian society'.

The concept of the 'Christian gentleman', which is central to the Academic Tradition in the Independent school system, stresses the ethical side of religion and the duties man owes towards his fellow-men in such areas as charity, compassion and personal regard. But, as McLaren notes (1968: 5), the concept is often seen in an amoral light:

> The essential purpose of the independent or church school, now as then, is to train Christian gentlemen to act as leaders to the rest of the community. It is no fault of the schools themselves if these aims are often distorted by parents who regard social prestige and material advantages as the most important signs of such leadership, or if many of their ex-students show a greater concern for exacting Christian duties from others than for performing Christian service themselves.

The concept of community finds a parallel in the Academic Tradition though in a somewhat different form from that in the Great Tradition. Many an Independent school - 'proud, aloof and privileged' - is a community unto itself (McLaren, 1968: 6-7):

> It is loyalty to this community which is the secret of the independent school's success. The mystique of the sportsfield, the fanaticism of school and house spirit, the camaraderie of tuckshop or dormitory, the indiscipline of the classroom - all foster the spirit of corporate identity which enshrines the school's ultimate values.

In some Independent schools the chapel is regarded as the hub of the school community. Unlike the synagogue, however, it is solely a place of worship rather than study. The school chaplain or local parish priest, in the case where the local church functions as the chapel, or a visiting celebrant is needed, officiates in the conduct of worship and has some pastoral counselling responsibilities. On the other hand his function may amount to little more than operating 'the spiritual dispensary which, like the best metropolitan hotels, combines the most elegant of traditions with the slickest of service' (McLaren, 1968: 7).

(5) Man-activity orientation

(a) The Great Tradition

As a child of God man owes duties to his Creator; as a social being, to his fellow-men. Religious observances and ethical conduct are the twin poles of man's activity. Both are governed by the precepts of the *Torah*. 'Mine ordinances shall ye do, and My statutes shall ye keep, to walk therein: I am the Lord your God. Ye shall therefore keep My statutes, and Mine ordinances, which if a man do, he shall live by them: I am the Lord' (Lev. 18:4-5).[19] *Halachah* (Heb.) 'law' is the authoritative, practical guide to Jewish life and seeks to translate into action the ethical and spiritual dimensions of Judaism. Although fully developed in Talmudic law, it is firmly rooted in *Torah* and derives its authority therefrom. The duties it enumerates are dictated by faith, and are held to be commandments of God (Heb. *mitzvah*, pl. *mitzvot*). The Jew becomes liable for their performance as soon as he reaches his religious majority at the age of thirteen years when he becomes *Barmitzvah*, literally 'a son of the commandment'. However, long before then, he is educated into their meaning and demands. Study is itself a *mitzvah* and a pre-requisite for knowing and performing all the *mitzvot*.

The term *mitzvah* also means companionship or union from the Aramaic *tzavta*. 'He who fulfills a commandment becomes united with the essence of G-d, who ordained that precept.[20] This is the meaning of the

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[19] Cf. Ezek. 20:11, 13, 21.

[20] The spelling of God in this case is that used in all publications of the Lubavitcher Movement and circulars printed by the school following ultra-Orthodoxy to avoid taking the name of the Lord in vain, the Third Commandment (Exod. 20:7; Deut. 5:11). See discussion by Werblowsky and Wigoder (1965: 160-161).

Mishnah (*Aboth* 4: 2), 'the reward of a *mitzvah* is the *mitzvah*", for the greatest reward of the worshipper is the very communion with G-d which is attained through the fulfillment of the precept' (Mindel, 1966: 17). Communion has a joyous element extolled by Rabbi Jehudah Halevi: 'Know that our Torah is constituted of the three psychological states: Fear, joy, and love. By each of these thou mayest be brought into communion with God.... And if the joy in God excites thee even to the degree of singing and dancing, it is a service to God, keeping thee attached to Him' (*Kuzari* II: 48).[21]

To know one's duties to God and fellow-men necessitates that one learns them through regular and continuous study of *Torah*, which Moses commanded as 'an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob' (Deut. 33:4). The complementary verbs in the Biblical injunction, 'Mine ordinances shall ye do, and My statutes shall ye keep' (Lev. 18:4), imply both mechanical performance ('do') and the idea of studying and understanding ('keep') the principles underlying the commandments (Hertz, 1967: 489, f.n. 4). Until the Modern Period, study of the *Torah* (Heb. *Talmud Torah*) in the sense of 'labouring in the *Torah* for its own sake' was considered the most laudable kind of activity, and the ideal type of Jew was the scholar (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 124). As one of the three pillars supporting the Jewish world (*Avot* 1: 2), it connects him with the community of Israel, awakens his sense of the holy, fosters the ethical consciousness, and vitalizes the practice of religion (Cohon, 1962: 246-249). Study produces a love, respect and great reverence for books.

The primacy of *Talmud Torah* is constantly stressed in Biblical and rabbinical literature. 'This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night' (Josh. 1, 8). The passage in the *Zohar*, 'How greatly it is incumbent on a man to study the Torah day and night' expresses the same idea (*Zohar* I, 4b). In Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah: The Book of Knowledge*, the obligation is laid upon every Israelite 'to study Torah, whether he is poor or rich, in sound health or ailing, in the vigour of youth or very old and feeble ... Until what period in life ought one to study Torah? Until the day of one's death, as it is said, "And lest they (the precepts) depart from thy heart all the days of thy life" (Deuteronomy 4: 9). Whenever one ceases to study, one forgets' (Maimonides, 1962: 1: 8, 10).

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[21] See also Albo, *Ikkarim*, III: 34.

Talmud Torah is a holy activity and earns reward in the world to come. Said Rabbi Chananya, 'if two sit together and interchange words of Torah, the *Shechinah* abides between them' (*Avot* 3: 3). The great Hillel used to say 'the more Torah, the more life ... he who has acquired for himself words of Torah, has acquired for himself life in the world to come' (*Avot* 2: 8). Said Rabbi Jose, 'qualify thyself for the study of the Torah, since the knowledge of it is not an inheritance of thine; and let all thy deeds be done for the sake of Heaven' (*Avot* 2: 17). Yochanan ben Bag Bag said, 'Turn it (the Torah) and turn it over again, for everything is in it, and contemplate it, and wax grey and old over it, and stir not from it, for thou canst have no better rule than this' (*Avot* 5: 25).

Closely related to *Talmud Torah* is the great value placed on education, particularly that of children by parents or parental surrogates in obedience to the Biblical injunction 'And thou shalt teach them [Commandments] diligently unto thy children' (Deut. 6:7).[22] Rabbinic law obligates a father to teach his sons *Torah* as well as a trade.

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[22] Cf. Deut. 11:19; Is. 54:13.

Provision of elementary education was considered to be of paramount importance. 'And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord and great shall be the peace of thy children' (Is. 54:13). The world is 'poised on the breath of schoolchildren' said the rabbis. Elementary education was established very early in Jewish history, and the identity between religion, history and education is fundamental to Jewish culture. The Talmudic contribution to traditional Jewish education was to ensure that learning would become a major institution and activity for all Jews. The result of both led to the creation of a professional class of scholars and a lesser, but nonetheless important, class of teachers. These became highly respected members of the community.

Education for the Jewish child begins at an early age. Talmudic teaching advocates that as soon as the child can speak, his father should teach him the *Torah*. The first verses that should be taught are Deuteronomy 33:4: 'Moses commanded us a law, An inheritance of the congregation of Jacob', and the *Shema* (Deuteronomy 6:4).[23] These the young child is made to learn by heart.

Teaching is in Hebrew, so esteemed by the rabbis as 'the language spoken by the angels' (*Hag.* 16a), that it became known as the Holy Tongue. 'When the child begins to speak his father should speak to him in the Holy Tongue ... and if he does not speak to him in the Holy Tongue ... it is as though he had buried him' (Midrash *Siphrei Ekev* 46). Not only are such injunctions designed to protect the Holy Tongue but stress the fact that the rabbis invested Hebrew with particular sanctity *per se*. Although Talmudic law permits the use of the vernacular for prayer (*Sotah* 7.1), in

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[23] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 165: 10. The words of the former constitute part of the little child's Morning Prayer, and are a national motto in Israel (Hertz, 1967: 910, f.n. 4).

Orthodox congregations at least, Hebrew is the sole language acceptable for liturgical purposes so highly is it valued.[24]

Judaism does not confine education to mere precept, through which knowledge of *Halachah* is gained, but adds the dimension of practice as a medium of instruction. 'He [Moses] did not leave practice without teaching, nor teaching without its application into practice. He left nothing in the life of the individual to his own caprice or discretion, regulating his diet, social relations, and the days for labor and for rest' (Cohon, 1962: 259). The historic Synod at Lydda in 133 A.C.E. came to the decision 'Study is most important, because it leads to deed' (Hertz, 1963: 625, f.n. 17). Said Rabbi Simeon, 'not learning but doing is the chief thing' (*Avot* 1: 17).

Practice flowing from knowledge is of decisive importance in Judaism, thus the rabbis attached the highest value to the unquestioning observance of ceremonial and ritual requirements, with their attendant visible symbols and concrete acts. They are 'practical observances' (Heb. *mitzvot maasiyot*) based on the motives of consecration and obedience to God's service. 'I have set the Lord always before me' (Ps. 16:8) is a 'cardinal principle in the Torah'.[25] Its Biblical origin derives from the Sinaitic Covenant: 'And he [Moses] took the book of the covenant and read in the hearing of the people; and they said: "All that the Lord hath spoken will we do, and obey"' (Exod. 24:7).

Consecration and desire for ritual purity, in addition to concern for hygiene, are the dominant motives for carrying out ablutions such as washing the hands before meals, and after using the lavatory. The same motives apply to the Orthodox practice of washing the hands immediately upon waking to counter any impurity that might have been contracted during the night.[26] 'I will wash my hands in innocency', said the psalmist, 'and I will compass Thy altar, O Lord' (Ps. 26:6-7). The face should also be washed and mouth rinsed: 'For in the image of God He hath made the man' (Gen. 9:6). The major rite of total immersion in the *mikveh* or ritual bath is an act of purification *par excellence.* It is enjoined upon the pious Jew to practise immersion prior to the onset of Festivals when 'he shall bathe all his flesh in water' (Lev. 15:16).

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[24] A limited number of prayers (*Kaddish*, *Kol Nidrei* and *Ha-lachma Anya* - the opening of the Passover *Haggadah*) are in Aramaic.

[25] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 1: 1.

The dietary laws and the act of saying Grace before and after meals also have important consecratory functions. They impart an element of spirituality into the biological act of eating. 'And thou shalt eat and be satisfied, and bless the Lord thy God for the good land which He hath given thee' (Deut. 8:10) was taken by the rabbis as the basis for the precept that every meal must be followed by Grace. 'In the light of Judaism, the table is an altar; and every meal is hallowed by prayer, before and after' (Hertz, 1967: 783, f.n. 10).

The rabbis singled out three *mitzvot maasiyot* with their underlying motive of sanctification, which recall man to his spiritual responsibilities and fealty to God. They are the laying on of *tephillin* - phylacteries worn by Jewish males of thirteen years and over at the weekday Morning Service (Exod. 13:9; *Sanh.* 88b); the *mezuzah* (Heb. 'doorpost'), a small case containing Biblical inscriptions on parchment affixed to the doorposts in Jewish homes (Deut. 6:9); and the *tzitzit* (Heb. 'fringes'), which are attached to each of the four corners of a garment (Deut. 22:12;

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[26] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 1: 2.

Num. 15:38-40). Nowadays, a special, cotton, rectangular undervest is worn, with bunches of fringes or tassels attached to each corner. This is termed the *arba kanphot* (Heb. 'four corners') or *tallit katan* (Heb. 'small *tallit*') to distinguish it from the large, fringed prayer shawl (Heb. *tallit gadol*) which is worn during the Morning and Additional Services on Sabbath and Festivals. A Talmudic passage observes: 'Beloved are Israel, for the Holy One, blessed be He, has surrounded them with precepts - Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob said "Whosoever has phylacteries on his head, phylacteries on his arm, fringes on his garment, and a *mezuzah* on his doorpost, is certain not to sin"' (*Men.* 43b).

Each of the above *mitzvot*, as in the case of other *mitzvot*, e.g. lighting the Sabbath candles and washing the hands, is accompanied by the appropriate Blessing or Benediction (Heb. *berochah*). It is recited in a standard, unvarying form: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who has sanctified us by His commandments and commanded us ...' followed by a phrase referring to the *mitzvah* to be performed. Blessings are also said before partaking of any food or drink ('Blessings of Enjoyment'), and on seeing such natural phenomena as lightning, the ocean and a rainbow, or on hearing either good or bad news. 'The fact that at various times throughout the day the Jew is obliged to recite a blessing and thus turn his thoughts to God, is one of the most characteristic features of the discipline of sanctification' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 62).

The Blessing is the unit of Jewish prayer in both private devotions and congregational worship. As Hertz notes (1963: xviii):

> In the scheme of the Rabbis, prayer covered the whole existence of the Jew. It was offered at the beginning and end of every meal, and every activity and human experience were hallowed by the thought of God. And they made devotion

> part of the very life of the people by ordaining
> it as the daily duty of the Jew.

The rabbis considered that prayer was implied by the Biblical commandment 'to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul' (Deut. 10:12).[27] 'What is heart-service?' asked the rabbis (Midrash *Siphra* Deut. 11:13), and answered 'Service of the heart is Prayer' (Hertz, 1967: 792, f.n. 13). Worship, the central pillar of Judaism, is extolled throughout rabbinical literature in maxim and injunction. Rabbi Joshua ben Levi believed it to be so efficacious that it breaks even an iron wall which separates Israel from the Heavenly Father (*Sotah* 38b). Great importance was attached to congregational prayer. 'Wherever ten persons pray', says Rabbi Yitzchak, 'the *Shechinah*, the Divine Presence, dwells among them' (Hertz, 1963: xix).

The minutiae of prayer are governed by copious regulations to bring rule and discipline into devotion.[28] However, an element of spontaneity should also be permitted. Man should pray only in a devout and reverential frame of mind (*Ber*. 5: 1). The object of the *tephillin* worn at the weekday Morning Service is to direct the thoughts of the wearer to God, and to the teachings contained in the four paragraphs embodied in the leather cases constituting one component of the *tephillin* (Exod. 13:1, 13:11; Deut. 6:4-9, 11:13-21). The Chassidim customarily wear a girdle (Yidd. *gartel*) made of black silk or wool over the long outer garment (Yidd. *kapota*) when at prayer, in strict obedience to the rabbinic injunction that a division should be made between the lower ('profane') part of the body and the upper part. To the

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[27] Cf. Deut. 11:13.

[28] The opening treatise of the Talmud, *Berachoth*, is entirely given over to the subject.

Chassidim the ideal means of communion with God is prayer recited in a state of exalted joy and ecstatic fervour (Heb. *hithlahabuth*). When words fail, Chassidim resort to humming or chanting wordless melodies (Heb. *niggunim*), clapping, and even dancing, for it is said 'And David danced before the Lord with all his might' (II Sam. 6:16).

The antithesis of such euphoria, and closely connected with prayer, is fasting in obedience to the command 'ye shall afflict your souls' (Lev. 23:27). Fasting is a sign of mourning, expiation and atonement for one's sins. To the prophets, fasting was associated with righteous conduct and with benevolence (Zech. 708; Is. 58). The rabbis held fasting in high esteem. Rabbi Eleazar valued fasting more than charity, for it is a sacrifice of oneself and not merely of one's substance (*Ber.* 17a, 32b). However, excessive fasting, and individual fasting were not favoured by Talmudic Judaism. The habitual faster is regarded as a sinner (Epstein, 1959: 156).

God may also be served and His Name sanctified by one's daily labour. 'The exaltation of labour marks all Jewish literature' (Cohon, 1962: 179). The rabbis regarded the phrase in the Fourth Commandment (Exod. 20:10), 'Six days shalt thou labour', as binding as the phrase, 'but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt not do any manner of work', that follows it (*Mekhilta* Exod. 20:9-10). Indolence on weekdays is even thought to profane the following Sabbath. Said the psalmist: 'When thou eatest of the labour of thine hands, happy shalt thou be and it will be well with thee' (Ps. 128:2). The proverb 'go to the ant thou sluggard' also emphasizes the value placed on work throughout Scripture.

It was further developed in Talmud where the rabbis also stressed the notion of apportioning one's effort between labour and spiritual activities. 'Rabbi Gamaliel, the son of Rabbi Judah the Prince said, "An excellent thing is the study of the Torah combined with some worldly occupation, for the labour demanded by them both makes sin to be forgotten"' (*Avot* 2: 2). Idleness and no opportunity for work are condemned: 'idleness leads to immorality' (*Ket.* 5: 5), while labour is considered to enhance man's worth: 'great is labour for it lends dignity to man' (*Ned.* 49b).

(b) The Academic Tradition

Activities in the Academic Tradition centre on the twin goals of intellectual training and character training (Bassett, 1963: 280-1). The former channels pupils' efforts into academic learning rather than vocational training with its concomitant curricula and teaching methods. These are largely prescriptive and oriented towards external examinations at the sixth Form (Grade 12) or matriculation level. For those pupils who aspire to this goal, work is largely teacher-dominated through 'exposition, explanation, set homework, tests, and guided study of texts' (ibid., p. 281). Although in some schools token recognition is given to student initiative, research and self-directed learning, by the stage of the senior Forms at least, what Hansen has termed 'Australia's examinamania' (1971: 166) prevails, so that intellectual excellence may be clearly apparent in the number of first-class honours amassed by students at the final examinations: the meritocratic approach to learning.

The historical roots of the Academic Tradition played their part in shaping this emphasis on intellectual effort (ibid., p. 22):

> In Victoria in the 1850's there were two influences to be seen, both Old Testament in nature rather than New: the Olympian-Arnoldian emphasis upon salvation through determined effort in the classroom, and the Scots-Calvinist insistence upon the same individual and unremitting search for learning, with, however, comparatively little guarantee of election to the saints.

Character training activities were joined to those associated with learning in the succeeding period, which saw the Old Testament emphasis give place to 'muscular Victorian Christianity'. This stressed a New Testament Christian humanism, in which are blended the mystery of religion and its mystical qualities, with ideals of service to the community and individual social responsibility through good deeds. A feature of the extra-curricular activities in many Independent schools is an emphasis on undertaking social service projects, such as working at old people's homes or in urban welfare organizations, hospital kitchens and the like.

The ideological basis of such activities is clearly evident in the resolution to the Australian Prime Minister passed by the Headmasters Conference of Australia in 1943 (Wilson, 1957: 46). *Inter alia* the members of the Conference saw their schools contributing to a reformed education system through:

(1) The religious spirit of their schools.

(2) Their insistence on the training of character on the basis of the Christian faith.

(3) Their efforts to train pupils to regard their life work as a vocation in the service of God and of the community.

(4) The traditional methods by which they seek to develop in young people a sense of social responsibility.

An essential part of character training is the leadership qualities it supposedly produces, particularly in boys. The headmaster of one leading Independent school in Melbourne considered that 'the concept of "leadership" conferred by the special qualities of private school education is intimately intertwined with the Arnoldian image of the Christian gentleman' (Encel, 1970: 426). Such a concept is not alien to the general ethos of Australian society. As Lipset found in a cross-national survey (1963: 515-531), Australians rank first on elitism-egalitarianism, that is, a fusion between two ideals that all members of society deserve equal respect as human beings, and that due recognition be made of the general superiority of those who hold elite positions.

Physical manliness, and participation in sport, games or other outdoor pursuits are seen as conducive to moral virtue and character building (Bassett, 1963: 281). They are given great prominence in the extra-curricular activities of most Independent and many leading State High schools. In support, Hansen cites Lytton Strachey's claim to trace the worship of athletics and good form directly back to the Arnoldian cult (Hansen, 1971: 22-23). The same writer comments on the 'games fetish' in the great Independent schools (ibid., p. 121). To McLaren (1968: 163), the emphasis on sport is based on the concepts of 'healthy minds in healthy bodies and team spirit destroying individual pride [which] have been handed down from Thomas Arnold of Rugby to produce a strange antipodean efflorescence in whose shade mere scholarship wanes unobserved'.

Emphasis on sport and the necessary leisure to pursue it, like leadership, is in tune with the ethos of the wider Australian society. As Waters notes (1963: 413): 'Australians place an unusually high value upon leisure. They take their right to leisure seriously'. By the same token, they take sport very seriously (ibid., p. 415 ff.).

Other activities encouraged in schools pursuing the Academic Tradition are also held to be conducive to character building and the production of leadership qualities. Techniques used outside the classroom are a house system, prefect system, cadet and scout movements, and the encouragement of arts, crafts, hobbies and voluntary societies concerned with numerous aesthetic activities, social welfare projects and groups such as bushwalking to encourage concern for nature. Such special features, so the ideology maintains, contribute to the education of the whole man - 'of trying to make Tom Brown a brave, helpful, truth-telling Australian, and a gentleman' (Wilson, 1957: 42).

(6) Man-time orientation

(a) The Great Tradition

Man is part of a Divine order conceived as eternity. God is everlasting (Heb. *Chei-ha-Olamim*), the God of eternity (Is. 40:28; Midrash Lev. *Rab.* vi, 6). His Covenant with the descendants of Abraham, Israel, is an everlasting Covenant (Gen. 17:7).[29] God's fidelity to it, despite Israel's defections, is eternal. 'God is "the First and the Last", initiating all movements - calling the generations from the beginning - and bringing them to a close' (Hertz, 1967: 61, f.n. 4). God's Kingdom is eternal. 'The Lord shall reign for ever and ever' (Exod. 15:18). 'From everlasting to everlasting Thou art God' (Ps. 90:2).

The Divine is the God of history. The great teachers in Israel 'saw in history a continuous revelation of Divine thought and purpose across the abyss of time' (Hertz, 1967: 936). Jewish history is Divinely-ordered history which began with the Creation *ex nihilo*, received its specific form with the call of Abraham and subsequent Biblical events, and will end in the World to Come (Heb. *Olam Ha-ba*). 'Man is a citizen of two worlds - This world and the World to Come. God hath set eternity in our hearts, and only in Eternity can we reach our full development. This world is the vestibule; the Future World is man's true home' (Hertz, 1963: 255, f.n. 13). Said the Sages, 'All Israel have a portion in the world to come' (*Sanh.* x, 1). Said Rabbi Jacob, 'This world is like an ante-chamber to the world to come; prepare thyself in the ante-chamber, that thou mayest enter into the hall' (*Avot* 4: 21).

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[29] Cf. Lev. 26:42-45.

In the eschatological thinking of the prophets and rabbis, as Epstein points out (1959: 60), mankind as a whole is seen as 'marching to the transcendental reality of an earthly future, "when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea" (Is. 11: 9)'. This doctrine of Messianism postulates the ultimate establishment of the rule of universal righteousness on earth and the restoration of the house of David and a reunited Israel. The Messianic hope centres on an 'eschatological king who is to rule over Israel at the end of days' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 259). He is the Messiah (Heb. *mashiach* 'anointed'). In the words of Hermann Cohen cited by Cohon (1962: 229): 'The future which the prophets portray under the symbol of the Messiah is the future of world history. It is the goal, it is the meaning of history, which presents the contrast to history in its isolated reality'. The Twelfth Principle of Faith of Maimonides declares: 'I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah; and, though he tarry, I will wait daily for his coming'.[30]

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[30] *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, p. 255.

If future-oriented Messianism constitutes the goal of social morality, the means to achieve it - knowing God's Will and performing the *mitzvot* - are rooted in the Biblical past. Man is past-oriented. Moral laws are inculcated by recollecting historical instances of immoral conduct that have led to loss of Divine favour. The Liturgy abounds with references to major historical events from which a moral might be drawn. Remembrance and commemoration of major historical episodes are fundamental to such basic observances as the Festivals of Passover (Heb. *Pesach*), Tabernacles (Heb. *Succos*), Weeks or Pentecost (Heb. *Shavuot*). The Pentateuch and Prophetic writings, the study of which is a *mitzvah*, are the historical record of the Jews, without which Judaism as a religion is incomprehensible. The past and the religion are interdependent. Werblowsky and Wigoder observe (1965: 187):

> It was religion that brought the Jewish people into being, gave it cohesion and endowed it with phenomenal powers of resistance ... At the same time, while the Jewish religion has conditioned Jewish history, Jewish history in its turn, has conditioned the Jewish religion.

A sense of the past is implicit in the Jewish calendar. Jewish dates are reckoned on a lunisclar basis from the date of Creation which the rabbis placed at 3760 B.C.E. (Before the Common Era). Thus the Jew has always before him a subtle reference to an historical event to which he owes his very existence.

The commemoration of the Creation is one concern of the Festival of the Jewish New Year (Heb. *Rosh Hashanah*), which brings past, present and future time together and illustrates their fundamental importance in Judaism. As the anniversary of the Creation, *Rosh Hashanah* looks to the past. In the present, it calls Jews to acts of penitence and prayers for

Divine forgiveness which will last for the subsequent 'ten days of penitence' culminating in the Day of Atonement (Heb. *Yom Kippur*), a day spent in solemn prayer and the collective confession particularly of social and moral sins. By calling Jews to repent and return to righteousness in the Liturgy, *Rosh Hashanah* foreshadows the future Messianic millenium towards which all Creation is moving, but for which repentance and restoration of man's harmony with God are the necessary prelude.

Concern for the proper allocation of time to valued activities is fundamental to Judaism, and finds expression in Scripture and rabbinical literature. Of foremost importance is the Jewish Sabbath, a day set apart from the profane by Divine decree for rest, consecration to God and the life of the spirit (Hertz, 1967: 6, f.n. 3). 'And on the seventh day God finished His work which He had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; because that in it He rested from all His work which God in creating had made' (Gen. 2:2-3). The Jew is commanded to 'Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt not do any manner of work' (Exod. 20:8-10). Variants of the injunction occur in subsequent Scriptural passages.[31] The laws detailing the thirty nine principal types of 'work' forbidden on the Sabbath according to the rabbis occupy a major proportion of the Order *Moed* (Appointed Seasons) in the Mishnah.

A twenty-four hour day in Judaism lasts from evening to evening. Thus the Sabbath lasts from nightfall on Friday until nightfall on Saturday. Meticulous rules were laid down by the rabbis to determine the exact time of nightfall. It was established as the moment when three stars of the second magnitude are visible in the sky, i.e. when the sun is approximately seven degrees below the horizon. Timetables are available to Orthodox Jews giving the exact chronological equivalent of this moment, for each day, week and month of the calendar. All other activities on Friday have to be arranged to allow Jews time to get home before sunset to prepare for the rituals in the home with which the Sabbath is greeted. They include the lighting of the Sabbath candles with the appropriate blessing and *Kiddush* (Heb. 'sanctification'), which is a ceremony and prayer to proclaim the holiness of the Sabbath, based on rabbinical interpretation of Exodus 20:8, 'Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy'.[32]

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[31] E.g. Exod. 31:13-17; Lev. 19:3; Deut. 5:12-14.

Kiddush has its equivalent in the *Havdalah* ceremony (Heb. 'differentiation') and prayer, which is recited at the conclusion of the Sabbath and Festivals to mark the distinction between the sacred day that has ended and the weekday that is beginning. Appropriate phrases in the prayer enumerate the differences between 'holy and profane', between 'light and darkness', and between 'Israel and the gentiles' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 178).

In addition to being a day of rest, the Sabbath illustrates the importance placed on the allocation of time to religious worship, and religious instruction or study. Prayer, and the allocation of time necessary for it, constitute a major man-time orientation. In the Judaic tradition there are three prescribed times to pray each day. The first is *Shacharis* (Heb. 'Dawn Prayer'), the Morning Prayer, which can be recited at any time from dawn until the first quarter of the day has elapsed. Prior to it, private prayers can be said by the devout immediately on rising. The second is *Minchah* (Heb. 'Offering'), the Afternoon Prayer, which can be said during the period from mid-day until just before sunset. The third is *Maariv* (Heb. 'who brings on the evening twilight'), the Evening Prayer, said during the period between nightfall and dawn of the following day.

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[32] *Pes.* 106a: 'Remember it over wine'. *Kiddush* is an abbreviation of the Talmudic phrase *kiddush ha-yom* (Heb.) 'sanctification of the day'.

Shacharis is the most solemn of the three daily prayers. It is not permissible to do any work or have a meal before it. *Shacharis* is also the most extensive of the daily services taking some forty minutes to an hour depending on whether a portion of *Torah* is read. It comprises recitals of benedictions and private prayers, followed by the synagogue service proper at the heart of which are the *Shema, Amidah,* Half-*Kaddish, Kaddish* and *Aleinu*. On Mondays and Thursdays a section from the week's Pentateuchal portion is read from the Scroll.

The allocation of time to *Minchah* and *Maariv* is not as extensive as for *Shacharis*. In some synagogues they are recited sequentially late in the afternoon - *Minchah* being immediately followed by *Maariv*. Alternatively *Maariv* can be said at home with the omission of statutory prayers such as the *Maariv Amidah* for which a *minyan* is required.

The value placed on devoting time to the performance of the ceremonial laws concerning wearing the *tallit* and putting on *tephillin* is clearly apparent at the Morning Service. The former is worn around the shoulders and covering the head in obedience to the Biblical injunction: 'Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make throughout their generations fringes in the corners of their garments, ... And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them' (Num. 15:38-39). Adult males wear the *tallit*; boys are not so required. It is donned with an appropriate

Blessing: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast hallowed us by thy commandments, and hast commanded us to enwrap ourselves in the fringed garment'.[33]

All of *Barmitzvah* age are expected to take time to lay on *tephillin* (wear phylacteries) during the weekday services. The boxes comprising the *tephillin* are worn, one on the forehead, and one on the upper bicep of the left arm, and are put on after donning the *tallit*. The act of putting the phylactery on the arm (Heb. *shel yad*) is accompanied by the Benediction: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe who has hallowed us by Thy commandments, and has commanded us to put on the *Tephillin*'. A Benediction accompanies the act of placing the phylactery on the forehead (Heb. *shel rosh*): 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who has hallowed us by thy commandments, and hast given us command concerning the precept of the *Tephillin*. Blessed be His name, whose glorious kingdom is for ever and ever'.[34] *Tephillin*, a symbol of God's Covenant with Israel, are not worn on Sabbaths and Festivals as these are considered to be sufficient reminders in themselves of the Covenant and the events and concepts associated with it.

Time must be allocated to other ceremonial observances, particularly the *mezuzah* and the wearing of *tzitzit* during waking hours. *Mitzvot* such as the Benedictions of Enjoyment also require a short period of time, during which man's thoughts are turned towards the Divine.

Allocation of time to study is a necessary condition for the understanding of one's ritual and liturgical duties. The study of the

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[33] *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, p. 45.

[34] *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, p. 49.

Torah (Heb. *Talmud Torah*) is a positive religious duty, held by the rabbis to be more important than ceremonial observances, as these can only be learned through study (*Kidd.* 40b). 'In his tradition the Jewish student saw God's will manifest. Study, then, was also communion and learning was an act of worship. Scholarship in the sacred literature was regarded as a means of serving God' (Steinberg, 1959: 103).

Study should be a regular habit. Said Rabbi Shammai, 'Fix a period for thy study of the Torah' (*Avot* 1: 15). Neglect of the *Torah* for a single day leads to further neglect (*Avot* 4: 11). 'Forsake the Torah a single day, and it will forsake thee two days' (Talmud). The rabbis held that a man should devote all his leisure to study of the *Torah*, giving one third to the Pentateuch, one third to the Mishnah, and one third to Talmud (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 366). Idleness and waste of time are abhorred. Said Rabbi Tarfon, 'The day is short, and the work is great, and the labourers are sluggish, and the reward is much, and the Master is urgent ... It is not thy duty to complete the work, but neither art thou free to desist from it; if thou hast studied much Torah, much reward will be given thee' (*Avot* 2: 20-21). Said the great Hillel, 'neither say, When I have leisure I will study; perchance thou wilt have no leisure' (*Avot* 2: 5).

The routine of study is set out in detail (*Avot* 6: 4):

> This is the way that is becoming for the study of the Torah: a morsel of bread with salt thou must eat, and water by measure thou must drink; thou must sleep upon the ground, and live a life of trouble the while thou toilest in the Torah.

Even wakeful periods during the night should not be wasted, and should be spent in serious meditation. 'My soul is satisfied ... when I remember Thee upon my couch, and meditate on Thee in the night-watches'

(Ps. 63:6 ff.). Rabbi Chanina, the son of Chachinai, said, 'He who keeps awake at night, and goes on his way alone, and turns his heart to idle thoughts, such a one sins against himself' (*Avot* 3: 5).

Study is not merely confined to childhood but continues throughout life. The rabbis allocated certain periods of a man's life to defined types of study and other activities (*Avot* 5: 25):

> He [Rabbi Judah, the son of Tema], used to say, At five years the age is reached for the study of the Scripture, at ten for the study of the Mishna, at thirteen for the fulfilment of the commandments, at fifteen for the study of the Talmud, at eighteen for marriage, at twenty for seeking a livelihood, at thirty for entering into one's full strength, at forty for understanding, at fifty for counsel, at sixty a man attains old age.

(b) The Academic Tradition

Man-time orientation in the Academic Tradition contains a number of superficial similarities to the Great Tradition primarily because of the tenets of Christianity to which the Academic Tradition nominally subscribes. An eschatological view of history and man's progress looks towards the Resurrection and the second coming of a Messiah in the person of the Son of God. At this time mankind will be judged. A sequence of religious festivals such as Christmas, Lent, Easter, Ascension-Day and Whit-Sunday punctuates the cycle of the religious year, and commemorates historical episodes of the Christian tradition. To many, however, they provide purely secular holidays in which religious significance is lost.

Allocation of time to activity during the week makes a distinction between five weekdays devoted to teaching and the weekend in which the Sabbath on Sunday is nominally a day for rest and church attendance. In those

Independent schools with boarders, provision is usually made for collective worship in the school chapel or the local parish church. However, except for the few schools affiliated to strictly fundamentalist denominations, the concept of the Sabbath as a day of rest and total work avoidance is nowhere so developed as in Orthodox Judaism. Neither are the length of the day, its ritual beginning and ending so strictly demarcated.

Allocation of time to collective worship at times other than Sunday traditionally takes the form of the daily school assembly, which typically incorporates the Lord's Prayer, a hymn or two, possibly a short homily from the Headmaster or Chaplain, and a concluding Benediction. In the State schools, this is 'paralleled by the loyal assembly, at which the headmaster couples the names of the almighty and the sovereign' (McLaren, 1968: 149). In Independent boarding schools it is also customary for the duty master to intone Grace before one or more meals in the dining hall.

Allocation of time to secular study occupies all the normal teaching day. There is also provision for a weekly scripture class (ibid., loc. cit.), and one or more periods of physical education. Extra-curricular activities, and either compulsory or optional sport, take place after normal school in the evening or during weekends. Such 'out-of-school' activities are a distinctive feature of the Academic Tradition and reflect the value its schools place on educating 'the whole man' (Wilson, 1957: 39).

The accent on sport in the Independent school necessitates a considerable allocation of time being set aside for it each week. Even in a State High school this can amount to the equivalent of two teaching weeks in a thirty week year. In the Independent school the time will vary according to the level of a boy's participation. If he is a member of a senior team or crew, for instance, some twelve hours or more can be devoted to training and competition in after-school time each week. The weekend sees most activity, and even Sunday, the nominal day of rest, is not exempted in some Independent schools.

(7) Man-habitat orientation

(a) The Great Tradition

In common with other religious groups, to carry out the valued activities of the Great Tradition, the Jewish community structures parts of its habitat into a 'pure and holy cosmos' (Laatsch, 1971: 347 ff.). Of central concern is the synagogue building, the architectural embodiment of the synagogue as a social institution. 'The rabbis taught that a synagogue should be erected wherever there existed a Jewish community. Where possible they were built on hills so that they should not be overlooked by other buildings' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 369). A major architectural feature of the building is the Ark containing the Scrolls of the Law located on the 'eastern wall', i.e. the one oriented 'towards Jerusalem'.

Although the synagogue itself can provide a place of instruction and study, traditional Jewish communities constructed a building adjoining the synagogue for higher rabbinic education. Called the *bet midrash* (Heb. 'house of study') it housed rabbinic texts such as Mishnah, Talmud and Codes, and had a sanctity considered by the rabbis to be greater than that of the synagogue itself (*Ber.* 8a). The *bet midrash* also served as the community's library housing its collection of rabbinical and other books.[35]

The value placed on ritual purity, particularly for women, and the *mitzvah* of the *mikveh*, led Jewish communities to construct a ritual bathhouse (Heb. *mikveh* - lit. any gathering of waters, Gen. 1:10). It was considered so important by the rabbis as to take precedence over the construction of a synagogue. The synagogue might even be sold to raise the money needed to build a *mikveh*.

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[35] The first mention of the *bet midrash* occurs in Ecclesiasticus 51:50; also referred to in Proverbs 8:34.

Temporary restructuring of the habitat occurs during the Festival of *Succos* (Booths), when it is customary for each Jewish congregation to construct a communal *succah* 'in order that your generation may know that I caused the Children of Israel to dwell in tabernacles when I brought them out of the Land of Egypt' (Lev. 23:42-43). A *succah* must have a minimum of three walls, and must not be more than twenty cubits high. Its roof is constructed of cut vegetation laid over laths and open to the sun.[36] In Western communities a *succah* is customarily built adjoining the synagogue, and is visited by members of the congregation for light refreshment after services during the Festival.

(b) The Academic Tradition

In the Academic Tradition, the school chapel is comparable with the synagogue as the architectural embodiment of the value placed on collective religious worship. It often occupies a position of prominence in the layout of the Independent schools and, where practicable, is also the venue for the solemnization of marriage, baptism and christening of former pupils or their offspring. Often the chapel incorporates an organ reflecting the value placed on hymn music in the Liturgy of Christianity.

The value placed on sport and games in the Academic Tradition is reflected in the amount of space and number of buildings devoted almost exclusively to such activities. A sports oval (or several ovals) occupies pride of place as a venue for football, cricket and athletics. A sports pavilion and changing rooms, often incorporating a grandstand in more lavishly endowed schools, are located nearby. A scoreboard is ubiquitous. Swimming pools, either open or closed, and a gymnasium with its ancillary rooms for equipment and staff are also part of the constructed landscape. The gymnasium can also double as an examination hall during the yearly examinations at the senior level.

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[36] Detailed rules for construction are specified in the sixth Mishnah tractate of *Moed*. See also *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 134-135.

Other sporting facilities are provided according to the financial strength or speciality of the school. Rowing schools located on a river have boatsheds nearby, or own a boatshed on the nearest stretch of water. The school landscape can also incorporate tennis, fives, and even squash courts.

The value placed on close staff interpersonal relations in some Independent schools has led to part of the school buildings being devoted to staff rooms, which are often well appointed to provide both places for work and relaxation. Those schools which conduct pastoral care programmes and house systems also have rooms for house masters and others to conduct interviews with students and their parents.

The overall layout in some Independent schools devotes space to gardens, shrubbery, 'green and pleasant places', as opposed to the bare concrete or asphalt playgrounds, where staff and students can relax during the day. Landscape design of this nature reflects the value placed on more subtle influences which might contribute to the education of the 'whole man'.

(8) Summary

The typology of value orientations, which form the ideological basis of the two Traditions assumed to validate the ideology of Lubavitcher School, has focussed on six areas of human concern which relate to 'the means and ends of striving' (Honigmann, 1967: 78). There are broad similarities in areas of cosmological belief and views of a future millenium as the ultimate end of human existence, as both Traditions share common historical, Biblical roots. Both Traditions emphasize learning and study as means, though the ends towards which they are oriented differ. In the Great Tradition they are oriented towards learning the multitude of rules, norms and values at the heart of Orthodox Judaism, in order to become a strictly Orthodox, observant Jew. On the other hand, the Academic Tradition can be said to be knowledge and assessment oriented in order to succeed in a meritocratic, competitive examination system, and gain a prestigious status in the economic world.

In the ethical domain, both Traditions share the common Golden Rule, but the Great Tradition lays down far more detailed prescriptions for human Conduct than does the Academic Tradition. In particular, the dietary rules ensure that the Jew will remain separate from the Gentile, but maintaining them would obviously pose great problems in a secular world.

Allocation of time to activities, and the arrangement of the habitat necessary to facilitate them, reflects basic contrasts in the views held about the ideal man by the two Traditions. In the Great Tradition the ideal man can be said to be the scholar, reflecting the veneration given to the intellect and learning. Such a view has no place for things of the body, such as sport. On the other hand, the Academic Tradition places considerable emphasis on the 'whole man'. Sport and games are valuable as necessary concomitants of such a view.

Following Schutz (1964: 11) it seems possible to make a distinction between the motives underlying the orientations of the two Traditions. In the case of the Great Tradition, Biblical literalism validated by Divine fiat, in the final analysis, provides 'because motives' for conduct. The pragmatic orientation of the Academic Tradition provides 'in order to' motives for conduct.

A boy attending Lubavitcher School is thus presented with two world views contending for his commitment. Smolicz has suggested (1974a: 19) that 'were [a tradition] to remain completely faithful to its ancient usage it would have undoubtedly perished', but this must be disputed in the case of the Great Tradition of Orthodox Judaism. Because of its Divine origin it is regarded as immutable, and thus not 'malleable' in the way Smolicz, following Szacki, suggests. It remains tradition, nonetheless. It is historically derived, and the possibility of it being either positively or negatively evaluated still exists.

It can be anticipated that the Orthodox Jewish Day School selected for this study attempts to operationalize both Traditions through the 'social organization of tradition' (Redfield, 1956: 40). By doing so it places boys attending the school in a situation where two traditions provide 'raw material' for *praxis*. Reality construction under such circumstances is likely to be highly problematical with the possibility that opportunities for *praxis* will be greatly reduced.

PART TWO

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF TRADITION

CHAPTER 5

SCHOOL CAMPUS, FACILITIES AND STAFF

The communication of tradition in a school enculturation matrix is a process that necessitates teaching staff and other personnel - the enculturation agents - and the technological facilities in which their activities are conducted. The structure (positioned status-roles) and organization (working arrangements) of the staff, to adopt Firth's useful distinction (1964:35ff), together with the design and layout of buildings and campus are the administrative element of the social organization of tradition.

(1) The arrangement of religious and teaching facilities

The school follows a pattern common to many small-scale religious denominational schools by having facilities providing both secular and religious education on the same campus. Holding pride of place is the synagogue fronting onto the main street. Attached to the rear is a meeting hall, kindergarten, kitchen and toilet facilities. Some distance back from these is the main two-storey classroom block providing ten classrooms. This building looks out onto a small asphalt playground bounded on its eastern boundary by a fence dividing the boys school from the adjacent girls 'sister' school in a neighbouring campus. Here are also located another kindergarten, a small classroom for the preparatory grade of the boys school and science laboratories shared in rotation by students from both schools.

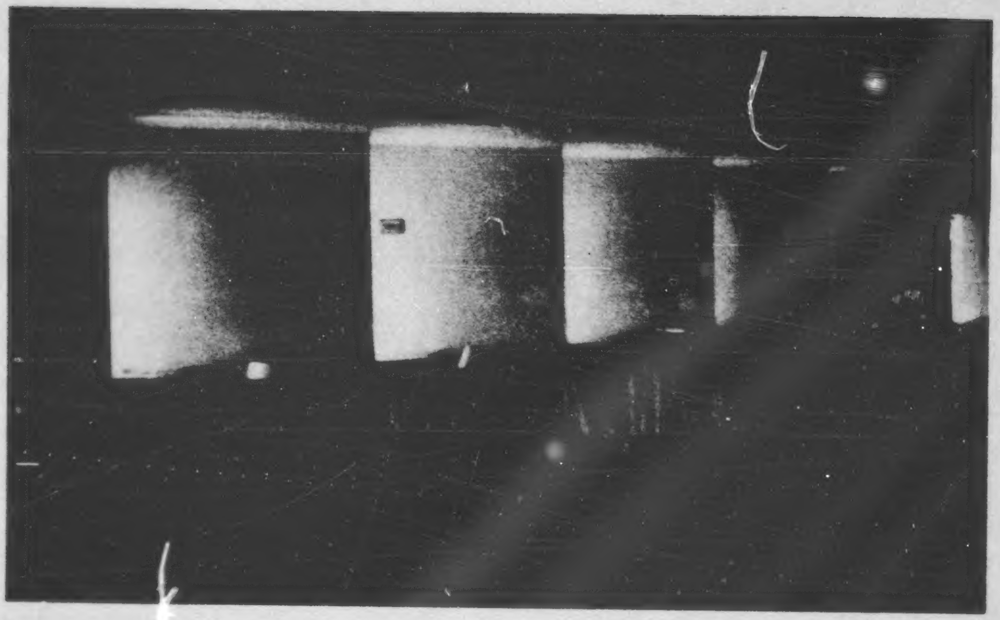
Several small, older red brick buildings occupy odd corners of both campuses. One on the girls' campus is a store for secondhand clothing and household articles intended for sale in an opportunity shop, run by members of the school community towards its contribution to Jewish charity. In the boys' campus a similar building is used as a library and overflow classroom for senior boys. Attached to it are two smaller buildings used for storing equipment and housing toilet facilities. The construction of all these old buildings is in marked contrast to the modern, yellow-brown sandstone brick design of the other main blocks and the synagogue itself.

A noteworthy feature on campus is the number of large stainless steel wash troughs placed against suitable walls on the outside of buildings. In construction these are all unremarkable apart from the number of aluminium water jugs or pitchers provided for each trough, insecurely attached to the wall by a length of chain some two feet long. An old concrete trough, unplumbed and surmounted by an inscription in Hebrew stands against the wall of the old red-brick building in the boys' campus, but no pitchers are provided. The number of jugs fluctuated during the year either due to weaknesses in the chain or the cycle of religious Festivals and Holy Days. On these occasions jugs were replaced so that a full complement was available in each trough. In the foyer of the synagogue there are two chinaware basins, one in each alcove beside the main entrance from the street, and provided with aluminium pitchers. These apparently mundane facilities reflect the importance placed on the ritual washing of hands before meals and after using the toilet.

Inside the synagogue and meeting hall block are several small rooms. Three on the ground floor lead off from the foyer, and are occupied by the Principal of the school, the bursar, and the school secretary. On the other side of the synagogue chamber there are two other rooms. At the time of the study, one was used as the sixth Form home-room, the other as a venue for prayer. On the same side of the synagogue, but on the second storey, part of the landing from the stairways has been converted into small rooms. One is used infrequently by small classes, or as a quiet place to study, the other is occupied by the Lubavitcher Youth group attached to the school.

The second storey of the synagogue is little more than a wide balcony occupied by pews. These run along three sides of the chamber. This is the area reserved for women at all religious services, while their menfolk assemble in the hall below, and reflects the separation of the sexes on ceremonial occasions maintained in Orthodox congregations. Around the entire length of the balcony, and rising some four feet above the front parapet and its brass railing, is a white butter muslin curtain which renders the women in the balcony all but invisible to the men below. The balcony is approached by a stairway originating in the porch of the synagogue but outside the foyer, which is not ordinarily used by women. At the top of the stairway is a cloakroom, used as a classroom, lunchroom for staff, and staff meetings during the week. Toilet facilities for women are adjacent.

The synagogue chamber is separated from the meeting and dining hall by a folding partition which is drawn aside after services to give full access for the worshippers. Another partition divides the northern end of the dining room into a small room to which access can be gained by a corridor from the end of the synagogue chamber. This is the *bet midrash* proper used throughout the day by the students of the Rabbinical College or *Yeshivah Gedolah*.



Study alcoves and the muslin curtain in the balcony of the *shul*.

A group of rabbinical students and Lubavitcher rabbis in the *Yeshivah Gedolah*.

Along the entire southern wall of the dining room there is a wash trough provided with pitchers. Leading off the hall is the kitchen and its ancillary storerooms. On the eastern side of the hall, glass doors open out onto a small concrete patio which converts into the communal *succah* during *Succos*, and the kindergarten itself. Attached to the doorpost of most doors throughout the building is the *mezuzah*.

From the street, the west wall of the synagogue is built in a series of angled steps. Each has a tall window set into the south-facing wall and reaching almost to the roof. When viewed from inside the building the effect tends to be masked by pews on the ground floor. In the balcony, however, the steps become a series of brightly sunlit alcoves along the western wall, each furnished with a study table and chair. In comparison, the eastern wall has only small head-high windows looking out over the roof of the hall and towards the playground and classroom block (see p. 340).

A duality is evident in the uses and functions of the buildings on campus, although this is not immediately apparent due to the constant coming and going of boys and other personnel in the complex which blurs the distinction between secular and religious facilities. Some facilities such as the synagogue, communal dining hall, wash troughs, *Yeshivah Gedolah*, and the library building, which also functions as a place for communal prayers and houses a *matzah*[1] bakery, can be legitimately considered as constituting a 'pure and holy cosmos' facilitating the performance of rituals and *mitzvot*. Other facilities are obviously designed to assist secular teaching, but even classrooms in the teaching block are used for religious instruction further blurring the duality.

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[1] The unleavened bread baked especially for the Festival of Passover (*Pesach*) described in more detail below, Chapter 7.

The overall impression produced by the arrangement of buildings and strengthened by daily usage, is the synagogue's place as a natural hub of activities, communication routeway between the classrooms attached to it and other parts of the campus, and central gathering point for students and adults. This seems only partly due to the location of the Principal's office which attracts a steady stream of visitors from the outside community as well as boys and teachers from the school. The synagogue itself is an informal meeting place for all and sundry, though it is apparent that only males are involved. An ebb and flow of men and boys persists in and around it during the day, gossiping, relaxing in pews, studying, praying - all expressive of its multiple functions and several terms of reference.[2]

(2) The 'sacred and traditional geography' of the synagogue

The furnishings and appurtenances within the synagogue reflect its multiple functions, and also indicate how closely it adheres to strict Biblical and East European traditions. The entrance, through heavy swinging doors off the spacious foyer, gives access to the rear of the synagogue and the ordered rows of pews facing the front or focal 'eastern wall' directly opposite the entrance. This is a mandatory feature of synagogue architecture. The 'eastern wall', i.e. that facing the direction of Jerusalem, is the one faced by the congregation in prayer. Against it is located the Ark of the Law (Heb. *Aron ha-kodesh*) or carved wooden closet in which the Scrolls of the Law are kept. In front of the richly decorated doors an embroidered curtain (Heb. *parokhet*) hangs, also decorated with Hebrew motifs and the Star of David. The colours, normally maroon and gold or royal blue and silver, change to white and gold for the High Holy Days of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*. The *parokhet* is used in obedience to the Biblical injunction: 'And thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen' (Exod. 26:31).

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[2] *Shul* (Yidd.) 'school'; *Bet Hamidrash* (Heb.) 'house of study'; *Bet Hatephillah* (Heb.) 'house of prayer'.

In front of the Ark is a raised platform (Heb. *dukhan*) reached by a number of steps, and used by the priests (Heb. *kohen*, pl. *kohanim*) when reciting the priestly blessing during the Additional Service on Festivals (except on the Sabbath) and *Yom Kippur*. Over the platform, a little above and in front of the Ark, hangs a brass lamp with red glass inserts through which shine a light at all times. This is the Eternal Lamp (Heb. *Ner Tamid*) prescribed in Exodus (27: 20-21) and Leviticus (24: 2-3) to hang 'without the veil of testimony in the tabernacle of the Congregation' as a symbol of the eternal watchfulness and providence of God over His people (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 284). Seating against the 'eastern wall' is available during services for prominent members of the congregation and distinguished visitors.

Normally the majority of the congregation occupy pews. Many of these have small brass plaques inscribed with the name of the congregation member who has purchased his seat. Not all are able to do this as the charge is expensive, as are congregation dues or fees generally. Strangers in the synagogue traditionally stand at the back, or sit around a large polished wooden table adjacent to the entrance. This is a feature of the traditional East European *shul*. Part of the back wall itself is occupied by glass-fronted bookcases holding prayer books, copies of *Chumash*[3] or

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[3] *Chumash* from *chamesh* (Heb.) 'five', i.e. the five books of the Pentateuch.

Mishnah as the *shul* is both a place of worship and study. The latter is evident most hours of the day when groups of boys study and argue vociferously around the table under the direction of a rabbi, or the rabbi himself studies alone, chanting aloud and punctuating the cadence of Hebrew by emphatic sways of the upper body in the accepted traditional style, the 'only way' of learning. Through it all others come and go, and the *Ner Tamid* glows on.

Almost in the middle of the *shul*, in the wide centre aisle, stands an elevated platform or pulpit (Heb. *bimah*), mounted by a short stairway. On the side facing the 'eastern wall' there is a tilted desk on which the Scroll of the Law is placed when Readings occur during the prescribed services. The area near the *bimah* is free of pews and allows congregants to cluster at the foot of the platform during prayer. It also allows room for circuits or processions with the Scrolls, especially the ritual circumambulations (Heb. *hakkaphot*) of the *bimah* during some major Festivals.[4]

A notable feature of the *shul* is the marked absence of an iconography - statues, holy pictures, medallions - of the type commonly associated with Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox Churches, among others. This follows the strict Biblical injunction in the Second Commandment: 'Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any manner of likeness, of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth' (Exod. 20:4; Deut. 5:8).[5]

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[4] Described more fully in Chapter 8 below.

[5] Note the variation in the second version - 'even any manner of likeness', held by some authorities to make it clearer that every 'manner of likeness' comes within the category of 'graven image' (Hertz, 1967: 766 f.n. 8).

Although modern rabbinical authority tends towards liberal interpretation of this law, it is apparent that the *shul* adheres to the strictly Orthodox view, which traditionally holds that artistic embellishments tend to distract the worshipper from concentration on his devotions.

(3) The staff

The composition of the teaching and administrative staff of the school reflects its dual functions. Each of the Traditions is served by a body of specialists in the form of secular teaching staff for the Academic Tradition, and rabbis and lay religious teachers for the Great Tradition. Apart from the two Jewish primary Grade teachers, who take their Grades for both secular and religious work, there is no overlap between the two bodies. On the other hand, all the administrative and para-administrative staff carry out duties that relate to both Traditions.

(a) Composition of the secular teaching staff

The complement of secular teaching staff is summarized in Appendix 4.4. Of the twenty-one full-time staff, twelve are men and nine are women. There is a basic division between those responsible for the administration of their Grades, and those with specialist functions but no administrative duties. They are the sports master, art mistress for Forms 1 and 2 (Grades 7 and 8), and a male Hebrew teacher responsible for this subject in all the secondary Forms. The position of the sports master was initially filled by part-time instructors. During the year of the study, two came and went in rapid succession, and the position was finally filled on a full-time basis by an ex-Navy physical training instructor.

The school has a large complement of part-time specialist teachers. These all teach in the Senior School, where difficulty is experienced in finding qualified staff able to teach at the fifth and sixth Form examination levels. Most are employed for the latter. Their numbers and composition fluctuated during the year of the study for a variety of reasons, among which is the strain some feel coping with extra work on top of their normal teaching load. All the part-time teachers are on loan from other secondary schools, or hold positions in tertiary colleges. In consequence most can only work at the school after normal working hours, during the evenings, or on Sundays. The Principal considers such after-hours classes as part of the boys' timetable in order to obtain full schooling. The boys themselves accept the situation as an inevitable outcome of the difficulty the school faces in getting highly qualified staff. Provided they get value for money in terms of good teaching, they accept the situation with good grace.

In view of the religious background of the school, a striking feature of its secular staff is the low proportion of Jewish teachers. Of the twenty-one teachers only seven are Jewish - two men and five women. Four of the latter teach the preparatory or lower primary Grades full-time. The other is on loan from the sister school to teach Matriculation Australian History. The two males are the senior English master and the Hebrew teacher. At the end of the school year, the former emigrated to Israel, and in the following year his place was taken by a non-Jew.

From this situation it should not be inferred that teaching is not a preferred profession among Jews. Dr Geulah Solomon has pointed out that there is a shortage of Jewish teachers comparable to that facing non-Jewish teachers. In addition, however, a high esteem is traditionally accorded to teachers of Biblical studies, and this has been the case for centuries. Ideally, 'all Jews are teachers'. In comparison, teaching secular studies with their concomitant secular values is not so highly esteemed.[6]

The Principal has the administrative responsibility for both the secular and religious sides of the school. He does no formal teaching, as a great deal of his time is spent in fund-raising and other public relations activities in the Jewish community both in Melbourne and Sydney. Consequently he is frequently absent from the school. When available, he does deputize for an absent member of the religious teaching staff.

(b) The hierarchy of responsibility in the secular staff

The composition of the secular staff leads to a diffused allocation of responsibility in which the chain of command from the Principal down is not clearly established. A non-Jewish senior mistress, who teaches the sixth Grade, heads the primary school, and she is autonomous to a considerable degree in matters which concern this level. *De facto* responsibility for organizing and presiding over most of the formal assemblies of the whole school is held by the Jewish senior English and sixth Form master. He has not only a flair for dramatic oratory, but also speaks Hebrew and Yiddish. Both languages feature in homilies and songs which occur during meetings to honour important guests or Jewish and school anniversaries.[7]

Next in line, and responsible for tasks which demand different skills is the senior mathematics and fifth Form master. He arranges the timetables, allocates staff to daily playground and dining room supervision, and arranges the times and rooms of the examinations held each Term. Such tasks do not need a knowledge of Hebrew or Yiddish, but the capacity to juggle permutations and combinations of staff, space and time. The mystique of mathematics, together with highly effective discipline and control over senior classes, validates the teacher's status in the authority hierarchy.

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[6] From personal discussion.

[7] Described in greater detail in Chapter 8.

Despite the largely complementary functions of these two masters, the exact extent and nature of their areas of responsibility are seldom established with sufficient clarity to enable either to make decisions, and be confident of support from the Principal on his return from an absence. This is an inevitable, dysfunctional outcome of the Principal's multiple roles and responsibilities. Consequently, there is often an air of uncertainty about major events, which can flow over into boys' perceptions of situations producing behavioural reactions indicating a level of anxiety, which occasionally reaches complete bewilderment and even hostility when organization breaks down.

Other secondary teachers take less administrative responsibility. Each has charge of a Form but, unlike the primary Grade mistresses, who teach all subjects, is not solely responsible for its discipline and control, as each Form is taught by several subject specialists. Each master's authority depends on a number of factors such as strength of personality and capacity to exert authority and control, but it is clear that boys' respect is also gained by teaching competence and subject expertise. If these are lacking, complaints from the boys can be outspoken, and on occasions clearly indicate the lack of respect they have for the master concerned.

During the course of any weekday, it can be obvious which class is being taught by a weak teacher from the amount of noise and indiscipline that prevails. This is not an unusual situation in any school, but here there is a close correlation between a disruptive class and the boys' apparent perceptions of the teaching competence of the staff member taking it. Even where a master holds a senior position in the status hierarchy of sixth Form subject teachers, he is judged on class performance at the level he happens to be teaching. A master occupying a more junior position in charge of a lower school Form, but nevertheless expert in his field, is accorded greater respect, and has fewer discipline worries. There is also a difference between the amount of respect accorded each subject. Those which are critical for high results in the matriculation examination, and play the greatest part in university selection - the science and mathematics group - gain more attention than those which are thought be 'soft' options, such as the branches of history taught at the school. Economics and accountancy are well regarded because of their potential importance in business careers.

The sports master occupies an interesting position in the hierarchy, and has a strong reputation, but for reasons very different from those discussed above. He has no Form responsibility and thus holds no formal position in the secondary Form hierarchy. He has no academic teaching duties or expertise, but gains respect for his obvious sporting and gymnastic skills, physical strength and air of 'tough' competence which indicates to boys that he stands no nonsense whatsoever. In contrast, the two previous incumbents lacked these characteristics, and did not last long in the position. Activities during a sports period in the playground are consequently orderly, disciplined and relatively quiet, in marked contrast to the noisiness that can prevail during unsupervised recreation.

(c) The religious teaching staff

The religious teaching staff can be divided into two broad groups, clergy and lay. The former comprise rabbis of various kinds, and holding positions of varying responsibility. By virtue of their full beards and black clerical garb and hats, they are very conspicuous members of the school enculturation matrix. Lay teachers are less easy to identify.

The senior rabbis teach at the school either full-time or part-time. There are two rabbis permanently assigned to the school on a full-time basis as teaching rabbis with no communal responsibility. One takes the sixth Form and an advanced junior class studying Talmud. The other takes middle and junior school classes in Mishnah.

Part-time rabbis comprise a somewhat heterogeneous group. There are two communal rabbis with their own congregations elsewhere, who come to the school to take religious classes during the early morning period between 8.50 and 10.50 a.m., but not usually at other times of the day. In addition, there is a number of rabbis with no congregational responsibilities but loosely attached to the school community. Young rabbinical students, all rabbis, from America comprise another group from which teachers are drawn on a part-time, infrequent basis.

There were six representatives of the Lubavitcher Movement studying at the school when I started work there. During the year they returned to the United States to be replaced by six others, who would stay for two years studying at the Rabbinical College. Aside from this involvement they periodically address the local congregations, and are in contact with the Australian Jewish communities at large as part of the out-reach religious work of the Movement.[8] The occasion of the departure and arrival of these young rabbis was marked by several farewell and welcoming ceremonies held in the synagogue. Senior students from the school attended these, and a group went out to the airport to meet the newcomers.

The young rabbis and other Seminary students are the focus of attraction for boys of all ages, when their recesses coincide. More senior students tend to predominate, with endless discussions and some ragging carried on, when they are not kicking a football, playing volleyball or a form of fives against the walls of the classrooms. From the comments of some senior boys I taught, it is obvious that they regard the young rabbis with feelings tantamount to hero-worship. They exercise a strong influence in religious ceremonies through their euphoric style of worship and their omnipresence in all rituals.

(d) Proprieties in covering the head for males

Like all the male Jews from kindergarten to staff in or associated with the school, each of these young men wears a hat or *yarmelkeh*, or both, at all times. This at first is a novel sight, especially in the classroom when confronted by pupils still wearing caps. However, it soon loses its unfamiliarity until the sight of a boy *not* wearing his *yarmelkeh*, usually due to it falling off un-noticed during some vigorous activity, prompts an automatic reminder to him to cover his head properly.

The attitude of the Principal to wearing a *yarmelkeh* is uncompromising. On one occasion during a staff meeting, he was asked by the gentile sports master to permit boys to remove their caps or *yarmelkehs* while tumbling on mats in the gymnasium. After a moment of grave reflection, the Principal said that such dispensation could not be granted.

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[8] *Lubavitch News Service Press Release*, (4/20/69).

Yarmelkehs could be pinned to the hair.

None of the gentile male secular staff wears a *yarmelkeh* or hat, and as a participant observer my own attitude to this remained ambivalent throughout the year. The upshot was to wear either a hat or *yarmelkeh* - the latter usually when visiting a Jewish home - on occasions when I was acting as a research worker, either just watching or seeking information in whatever context. When teaching I went uncovered, as wearing a hat is not expected of gentile staff, and it would have been out of place and conspicuous.

(e) Lay teaching staff

Lay staff comprise men and women, the former taking secondary Forms. The community's *shochet* (Heb. 'ritual slaughterer'), who is also a scholar and scribe, takes the fifth Form. The fourth Form was taken initially by an English Lubavitcher rabbi. On his return to England a male lay teacher took over, continuing for the remainder of the year. Women take primary Grades. Where they know Hebrew and Scripture the normal teachers take their own Grades. Part-time teachers are brought in to take the two Grades normally taught by non-Jewish women. Apparently only two of the women teachers are trained in Hebrew and have a solid background in Scripture. One of them is the daughter of one of the communal rabbis.

According to one informant there is a desperate lack of, and need for, trained Jewish teachers for Jewish schools.[9] The same comment was made at the community dinner held to farewell the sixth Form master on his departure for Israel: 'Here is a young Jewish teacher leaving for Israel, and who is there to replace? There is a need for young Orthodox

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[9] Discussion with a visiting teacher of Scripture.

Jewish teachers, but they are not coming forward.[10]

(f) Dysfunctional and hierarchical aspects of religious staff

A situation exists among the religious teaching staff comparable to that in the secular side of the school, in that various trained, partially-trained and almost untrained teachers are employed. Some are full-time and others part-time. There are corresponding difficulties with fractious classes, which may be for similar reasons. During the periods when religious study proceeds, a survey of the campus quickly reveals those teachers - both rabbinical and lay - who are having discipline problems.

Many explicitly complained to me about the lack of respect from the boys, which they put down to them being thoroughly spoilt at home. So frequently was this mentioned that it leads to speculation concerning the existence of what can be termed a 'spoiling syndrome' among staff, even including the Principal. Lack of respect is surprising as one might expect the boys to show respect for their teachers' religious calling in traditional fashion, but this does not appear to be the case. Neither does the inherently sacred, serious nature of the studies appear to curb bad behaviour. In senior Forms a dialectical style of teaching is sometimes employed in which the boys are encouraged to argue with the teacher and among themselves. This may be conducive to excitement which quickly gets out of hand, but is not sufficient to explain all the incidents witnessed.

Establishing if there is a form of authority hierarchy is difficult as the normal secular Grade and Form structure provides the basis for dividing into classes, and there does not appear to be an obvious relationship between the status of the religious teacher and the Form or Grade taught. The Principal is at first sight the obvious head of what hierarchy there is. But further investigation reveals that the whole teaching establishment comprising the school and Rabbinical College is nominally led by its original founder. He is an elderly rabbi who spends the great majority of his time supervising the rabbinical and other students, who are taking tertiary Jewish studies in the *Yeshivah Gedolah*, either as formal preparation for the rabbinate or from choice for a year prior to going to university or into an occupation. Next in authority is the Principal, who attends to the majority of the day to day running of both religious and secular sides of the school. The women teachers would be regarded as junior members of the hierarchy.

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[10] Referred to in the School President's Valedictory Speech.

(4) Other school personnel

Like most medium-sized schools the members of staff are not confined solely to secular and religious teachers. A number of non-teaching staff also assist in the running of the school. These are the school secretary, bursar, cleaner-gardener and catering staff in the kitchen. To Biddle the presence of such personnel is a function of the size of a school (1970: 171). However in the case of the secretary, bursar and catering staff at least they also perform tasks which are related to the Orthodox nature of the school and not its size. These necessitate their presence in any case.

(a) The bursar

The bursar has the dual role of looking after the school's finances - levying and collecting school fees, paying staff, meeting its running expenses - while also acting as the treasurer for the synagogue and its congregation. In the latter role, he collects congregation membership dues, organizes and receives money through appeals and charities, and looks after the everyday running expenses of the synagogue congregation.

For the major Festivals of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* seats in the synagogue are at a premium and are rented or sold to people wishing to attend, who have not already bought their seat as a regular member of the congregation. At this period the bursar's role related to the synagogue is very obvious, with 'phone calls and constant visitors coming into his office making requests for seats, or paying a contribution to the appeals conducted on behalf of the congregation at this time of the year.

(b) School secretary

In these tasks he is assisted by the school secretary who also has a dual role. As secretary to the Principal she is the link between him and staff, boys and parents. She handles most routine inquiries and petty troubles of the boys, assists staff in their typing and duplicating, handles inquiries from parents and visitors to the school or synagogue, and organizes such matters as orders for books, stationery and the like.

All of these would be considered normal tasks of a school secretary. However, she also assists with the supervision of the boys' lunchtime in the hall adjacent to the synagogue and kitchen; a task which entails hearing boys recite the appropriate Benedictions and Graces and making sure they wash their hands. Another supervisory task is assisting primary school teachers to load some of their pupils into taxis, which call to collect and take them to their homes each afternoon when the primary school finishes. Besides assisting the bursar with community appeals - typing and mailing letters, organizing stationery - the secretary also handles petty cash matters. One of these is the sale of the *tallit katan* to the boys. In consequence her office, like the Principal's, contains a clutter of sacred and secular paraphernalia.

(c) Para-administrative staff

Many schools have tuckshops or lunchrooms staffed by one or two permanent personnel, often more depending on the size of the school. Their tasks usually entail the preparation of a variety of snacks such as sandwiches, rolls and cakes sold to pupils at recesses and lunchtime. Often commercially produced soft drinks and confectionery are stocked and sold at a profit. In this work the permanent catering staff are often assisted by mothers on a roster basis. If the school has a mothers' club, staffing the tuckshop is one of its most important functions, and considerable control can be exercised over the quality and type of foods supplied. A well run tuckshop is also a source of extra funds for the school, with profits being used to purchase extra equipment or provide amenities which the school could not otherwise afford.

The school follows this pattern by providing lunches through the kitchen at a charge of one dollar per week.[11] A tuckshop is also organized by the very active Parents' Association on one day a week. Proceeds go towards the purchase of sports equipment, school furniture and other educational amenities. During the year the tuckshop service was extended. On Mondays 'very delicious fried beef-burgers are sold, and on Wednesdays hot dogs'.[12] Orders for these are canvassed by a boy monitor who goes round classes during the first period after morning recess.

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[11] This and following information regarding the tuckshop is taken from the school's cyclostyled circular to parents, February 1969 and *Newsletter*, Volume 8 No. 1 (February-April, 1969), and based on observation.

[12] *Newsletter*, Volume 8 No. 2. (June-September, 1969) and observation.

The Parents' Association is also involved in organizing major functions such as welcomes and farewells to prominent members of both religious and secular staff, and other people associated with the school. A number of these functions take place in the homes of parents, others are held at the dining hall of the school. In all such activities there is little difference between the work of the Association or tuckshop and similar organizations in schools of similar type.

(d) Religious importance of para-administrative duties

In one respect, however, there is a considerable difference. The kitchen and tuckshop function to support the system of religious observances and values entailed by the school's Orthodox basis, which would be impossible or difficult to sustain otherwise. The circular to parents at the beginning of the school year states that 'Boys of Barmitzvah age should attend daily services which commence at 7.20 a.m. followed by breakfast, for which there is a nominal charge'.[13] The breakfast is supplied by the kitchen.

A number of religious services during the year and celebrations such as a *Bar Mitzvah* are followed by a community meal in the hall adjacent to the synagogue. The kitchen again plays an important function in providing the nucleus of the organization that goes into the preparation and serving of food for such occasions. At big gatherings its normal staff of two to three elderly women is supplemented by the wives of male members of the congregation. The men sit at the tables erected in the hall. The women do not eat with them, but wait on the tables.

Other schools have tuckshops and kitchens that prepare and serve lunches, but in this case the preparation takes on a religious significance.

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[13] *Circular to Parents*, February 1969.

All food is prepared with strict regard for the *kashruth* laws. Hot lunches are usually dairy produce of one sort or another. When meat is served no milk products are supposed to be taken. Should a child bring a meat lunch he cannot have milk nor mix with those having dairy or milk lunches. He usually eats outside the hall. The circular to parents stresses 'that children bringing their own lunch should be provided with MILCHIG dishes only'.[14]

The kitchen and its staff thus perform a function which transcends the mere provision of food, as would be the case in non-Jewish schools. This is to maintain a whole system of ritual behaviour based on religious values and beliefs about keeping *kashruth*. The consumption of food accompanies many religious ceremonies central to the life of the school complex. Without the kitchen as mediator between the system of religious values and their enactment in terms of ritually pure eating behaviour and ceremonial, it is conceivable that much of the religious functioning of the whole complex itself could be impaired or even rendered impossible.

(e) The caretaker

One of the important non-teaching personnel of the school is the caretaker. In 1969 he was a non-Jew, and had a status that was unrelated both to the secular and religious teaching structures. However, both had behavioural expectations of him which combined to define the major part of his role in the establishment. This involved not only keeping the classroom and other secular premises and furniture clean, orderly and in good repair, but also maintaining the synagogue and adjoining religious buildings. At important times of the Jewish year such as *Yom Kippur*, *Rosh*

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[14] Ibid., *Milchig* (Yidd.), *Milkhik* (Heb.) 'Dairy'; pertaining to dairy food.

Hashanah, the Ninth Day in *Av*,[15] the caretaker's tasks entail major rearrangement in the seating accommodation in the synagogue, as well as the subsequent cleaning up that is necessary after services. In addition to indoor tasks such as these, he is responsible for the grounds of the school campus. This involves maintaining the small flower beds, shrubbery and patches of lawn located in it.

To a large extent these tasks constitute a 'definite field of competence' seen by Shipman (1968: 56) as the outcome of having duties that are specific and able to be determined rigidly. However, like the school secretary, their variety and degree of over-lap between secular and religious aspects reduce this specificity. In consequence the status of the caretaker is not so much neutral - uninvolved with staff or pupils as persons to whom obligations are felt - as Shipman considers it to be, but indeterminate.

He does so many types of odd jobs that it is hard to delimit the area of his responsibility. Consequently many unusual requests for help made to him by the Principal, administrative personnel, staff and even boys are complied with.[16] In many other schools where the caretaker can be a petty tyrant - in Shipman's terms 'ruthlessly impartial' (loc. cit.) - they would never have been made, let alone met, as both caretaker and staff would have known precisely the area of legitimate responsibility, and respected it. The relatively small size of the school, its more informal organization, and even the compliant personality of the caretaker himself all may have played an equal part in encouraging the relaxed, personal relationships with staff and boys. However, even this was not enough to prevent apparent role conflict on occasions when demands seemed excessive from the caretaker's role set.

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[15] *Tisha B'Av* (Heb.) - Fast commemorating the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D.

[16] During the year the caretaker took to wearing a hat at all times around the school in keeping with its Orthodox character. Unverified rumour had it that the Principal made the request for the hat to be worn, although the caretaker is a non-Jew.

(5) Summary

The organization of the campus, facilities and staff in the school clearly relate to the necessity to transmit the two Traditions, even though a small degree of overlap occurs in a few cases, with some personnel and facilities having to fulfil dual roles. In other respects the duality of the enculturation matrix is preserved.

The corps of enculturation agents is of varying degrees of competence and commitment to the school, and some dysfunctional results of this have been identified. Their effects on the boys are to create anxiety and tension in the majority of cases that show out in conflict-prone behaviour and indiscipline. These conditions are reduced when enculturation agents are clearly competent in their subject areas in the case of the secular teachers, or of a maturity and wisdom in the case of religious teachers.

The division of functions is less obvious in the case of the administrative, catering, and caretaking personnel, where there is considerable blurring of areas of responsibility. As a result there is a heightening of their participation in many facets of school life, leading to a reduction in social distance vis-a-vis pupils, and a concomitant increase in the informality of interpersonal relationships which is a feature of school life outside the classroom.

CHAPTER 6

THE ORGANIZATION OF TIME IN THE SCHOOL

The allocation of time to activities in the school relates closely to the way the school is organized and structured. A day is divided into periods for prayer, religious study, recreation and secular study. As a boy proceeds through the day, he firstly comes under the discipline of the Great Tradition and its attendant norms and authority figures, then under the discipline of the Academic Tradition and its authority figures and norms. In effect there is a dialectical interplay between the two Traditions due to the way time is organized. Like a pendulum, the boy swings first to the Great Tradition, then to the Academic Tradition, then back again, and so on during the day. During these oscillations, he snatches brief moments to perform personal religious rituals or *mitzvot*, which are based on an inner discipline rather than compliance to an external authority figure.

(1) Morning Prayer and religious study

For boys of *Barmitzvah* age the school day begins early. It is a school rule that they should attend *Shacharis*, the Morning Prayer, which begins for them at 7.20 a.m. in the *shul*.[1] Some strictly observant boys would have already said private prayers on rising and before coming to the school. *Shacharis* is followed by a communal breakfast in the dining hall, provided by the school at a nominal charge, the boys being forbidden to eat prior to the Morning Prayer. As for all group meals it is preceded by Benediction and followed by Grace.

By 8.50 a.m. all boys of *Barmitzvah* age, whether they attend

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[1] *Circular to Parents*, February 1969.

Shacharis or not, are expected to be in their classes for the two hours of religious study that follow. This is supervised by their Jewish lay and rabbinical teachers. Some boys worship in their local synagogue, then come on to school for religious studies. Other senior boys, either under pressure from preparing for examinations or other, personal reasons do not get to school until secular studies start. If observant, they are able to pray in their local synagogues, or the *shul* during the morning before midday.

The secular Grade and Form structure provides the basis on which the boys are divided into groups for religious studies. However, a few third and fourth Form boys are in advance of their peers, and attend more senior groups in other classes. One group studies around the large table in the *shul*, another in the library, and a group of junior boys in the staffroom.

During the period from 8.50 to 10.50 a.m. the school settles to a quiet hum of classroom activity with no distracting activities such as games or sport taking place in the playground. Discussion punctuated by the teacher's explanation, the rhythmical sing-song cadence of a boy reading from *Chumash*, or of a group chanting in Hebrew, comes from some Lower School Grades. More animated discussion takes place among the fifth and sixth Forms, who are tackling Mishnah. A rabbi expounds the Law in one room, a woman's voice leads the singing of a primary Grade in another. From subjective and impressionistic observations of this nature, a picture of the school emerges that is qualitatively different from what it is when secular work is taking place.

Religious studies continue until 10.50 a.m. when they are adjourned for a short recess. After this and a short school assembly, primary Grades and Forms 1 and 2 start secular work. The rest of the secondary school goes back to religious studies for a further forty minutes.

(2) Secular studies - the morning period

The secular part of the day begins at five minutes to eleven when the siren sounds at the end of the short recess. At this signal, all primary and secondary Grades line up in front of the main teaching block with their teachers. The Principal or senior master makes routine announcements, and all Grades move off into their classrooms. The primary children customarily keep in a more-or-less neat 'crocodile' fussed over by the teacher in charge. Jostling, chatter and silliness are verbally checked. Secondary students are less well shepherded, and normally make their way to classes independently. Punctuality of both staff and students is constantly stressed by the Principal: time is too valuable to be wasted. His periodic visits to the playground and classrooms during this assembly provide both visual and verbal reinforcement of this norm.

Secular work is under way for all by 11.40 a.m. when the four more senior Forms complete religious studies. This time sees an exodus of religious teachers; some rabbis go to the kitchen for a cup of tea or snack. Two forty minute periods follow, with each Grade adhering to its individual timetable. Each class remains in its own room, and the specialist teachers move around the school from class to class as their periods become due. The break between lessons creates a hiatus in control and discipline, as a class can be left unsupervised while its teacher departs for another room and the next teacher may be late. Noise, scuffling, and rowdiness are common occurrences in classrooms during the hiatus. Physical education classes carry on in the playground, and the noise of boys adds to that from classrooms. There is a discernibly different tempo about the school during secular work in comparison with the tempo of

A primary Grade occupied with individual, secular work.

A fifth Form mathematics class in their own classroom.

religious studies.

All Grades have a lunchtime recess between one and two oclock each day for part of the year. However, between *Pesach* (April) and *Succos* (October) school finishes on Friday at 3.15 p.m. for all boys to enable them to get home before nightfall for the beginning of *Shabbos* and the ritual kindling of the candles. As there is no *Minchah* prayer on Friday in view of its association with the Sabbath, lunchtime is reduced to three quarters of an hour. School begins again at a quarter to two on this day.

The ten minutes before the beginning of the lunchtime recess see 'crocodiles' of primary school boys being taken to the toilet, and to wash their hands at the large stainless steel troughs (with varying degrees of thoroughness), before being shepherded in line to the dining hall for supervised lunch. The secondary school stops at one oclock. Many boys leave the classrooms boisterously, only a small proportion reaching up to touch the *mezuzah* on the door jamb. Others linger behind to discuss work, gossip, or waste time. They have to be shooed out and reminded to get to *Minchah*.

(3) Lunchtime rituals - the *Minchah* prayer and recreation

The Afternoon Service (*Minchah*) starts at about 1.15 p.m., and must be attended by all boys who are *Barmitzvah* before they have their lunches. In contrast to *Shacharis*, which takes place in the *shul*, *Minchah* is conducted in small groups at various locations around the campus. The sixth Form uses its own small room at the rear of the *shul*. Junior and Middle Forms assemble in the synagogue itself; fourth and fifth Forms pray in the red-brick library building. The prayers are led by a senior boy, an adult, or by a rabbi if present.

At this time, students of the Rabbinical College also pray together, and their room at the end of the dining hall beyond the partition echoes with the quiet drone of voices, now all in unison, now antiphonally as the prayer leader chants the phrases and others respond. The metric beat and stress used in the prayer produce an almost hypnotic rhythm taken up by some worshippers, who rock forward and back in time with the cadence. Other boys, however, seem less observant. Some of those praying in the library gaze out of the window in seeming disregard of the proceedings.

Meanwhile the junior primary Grades complete their meal with a Grace, and some wash their hands supervised by the duty teacher if she is Jewish. The school secretary sits at a small table near one of the glass doors into the adjacent kindergarten, and eats her own meal. She also supervises hand-washing before and after the meal, and has a pile of cards on which the Benediction is written to give out to those at each table. A duty master or mistress watches over the boys, and tries to maintain a degree of good behaviour and order.

Following *Minchah* the senior boys come in. Some wash their hands perfunctorily, or have already washed them in one of the troughs in the playground. A great variation in the care taken over this is evident. Some, usually junior, boys merely touch the tap with their fingertips or allow a few drops to fall upon them, even though it is forbidden to eat without first washing the hands.[2]

The more careful take a longer time and carry out the ritual deliberately and carefully. The water pitcher is filled, held in the left hand and water poured twice over the right, covering the entire hand as far as the wrist. This is repeated for the left hand, holding the water pitcher in the right. After rubbing the hands together a Benediction is recited in Hebrew with the hands uplifted: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hath sanctified us by His commandments and hath commanded us concerning the washing of the hands'.[3] The hands are then dried. In one instance observed, one boy, known later for his Orthodoxy, goes further to avoid contaminating his washed right hand by contact with either his left hand or the pitcher.[4] He covers the right hand with the towel hanging on the wall before pouring water from the pitcher onto the left hand, despite the obvious awkwardness the action causes.

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[2] *Kitsur Schulchan Aruch*, 40: 14.

Lunch is a noisy occasion. The boys sit at long trestle tables and, following Benediction, chatter without stopping. Often so much food is spilt on tables and occasionally on the floor, that the room has to be thoroughly cleaned and swept out by the caretaker at the end of the period. As soon as all the senior boys have left, the students of the Rabbinical College eat lunches provided by the kitchen. Washing of hands and the Benediction are carried our punctiliously. Finally all are finished, Grace is recited, hands are washed, and the hall is vacated for the caretaker to start cleaning up.[5]

Some boys eat their lunches outside in the playground. By 1.30 p.m. most boys are in the playground occupied with a variety of games according to the season, the weather or space available. Some hang around the classrooms, although they are strictly out of bounds. Lunchtime sees another form of hiatus in discipline and control, as most senior staff are having their lunches, and the one duty master or mistress in the yard cannot be everywhere at once. A probationer prefect is supposed to assist with maintaining discipline. He has the duty of going around the teaching block before and during the lunchtime to make sure that all rooms are vacated and doors locked. However, as in any school, this does not prevent some boys getting in again later, through one devious means or another.

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[3] Ibid., 40: 5; and personal observation.

[4] Ibid., 40: 6.

[5] The form of both Benediction and Grace varies according to the number and kind of persons present at table (ibid., 41-45).

(4) The secular afternoon

Teaching starts again at two oclock. Classroom work takes place over three forty minute periods in the secondary school. These last until an afternoon recess at four oclock, which gives an opportunity for staff carrying on teaching later in the afternoon to get a cup of tea. At this time those Lower School boys who do not remain behind for special religious classes go home. Recess also sees an influx of some part-time teachers who are able to finish their full-time teaching jobs early enough to get over to the school to start teaching at 4.15 p.m.

The secular period after lunch is also occupied by sport or physical education classes in the yard, and, again, the noise of the activities combines with that of the classrooms. Just before 3.30 p.m., parents of the primary school children gather in the yard to await their charges who are dismissed at that time. Girls from the sister school make their way to the same spot. The noise of greetings, gossip by the women, and finally emergence of the primary Grades can produce such distractions in the classrooms, that teaching in the senior Forms is almost impossible.

An exception to the predominantly secular afternoon is the work of a small, specially selected group of primary school boys. They are taught by a male Jew in a small, prefabricated hut in the girls' playground. Their studies are almost entirely Jewish, with Biblical study taking place at the table in the *shul* under the guidance of a senior teaching rabbi. Even at such an early age the knowledge of these young pupils is extensive, and rivals that of many sixth Formers. This is the equivalent of the traditional *cheder* or elementary Jewish school, which is the prelude to higher Jewish studies and a life devoted to Jewish learning.

By 4.15 p.m. all the primary Grades and Forms 1 and 2 have departed, with the exception of a small group which remains behind to take studies in Mishnah (*Mishnayis*) under the tuition of a senior teaching rabbi. They work from 4.10 p.m. until 5 p.m. The class is voluntary for primary Grades, but supposedly compulsory for junior Forms.[6] Despite this, not all from Forms 1 and 2 attend.

Boys in the Middle and Senior school continue secular work under either full-time or part-time secular staff. Third formers go home after one period; the remainder continue until 5.30 p.m. Matriculation students in some subjects may have to continue studying well into the evening if this is the only time available for a part-time teacher. Their work is strictly secular. *Maariv*, the Evening Prayer, is said at home in private, or at the local synagogue. For many senior boys, another period of religious study is undertaken before going to bed.

More time for religious work is available at school on Sunday. Classes for Grades 5 and above are held at the school between 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. It is a school rule that all students at these levels should attend.[7]

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[6] *Circular to Parents*, February 1969.

[7] Ibid.

Senior students are exempted where they have to take secular instruction on the same day if their secular teacher cannot come at any other time. As on weekdays between 8.50 a.m. and 10.50 a.m., the drone of activity in the classrooms continues uninterrupted by sport or games in the yard. Apart from the one or two part-time secular teachers, who might be taking a class for a secular subject, the remaining teachers are all Jewish lay staff and rabbis as on weekdays.

(5) Summary

The organization of time in the school allocates periods to religious activities and secular work in a proportion that slightly favours the Great Tradition. In sum, approximately four hours are devoted to religious ceremonials and study on an average day. Secular work for most students occupies a little over three hours, but this is exceeded by those senior boys who stay behind after four oclock. If we add the religious classes on Sunday for a majority of students, the predominance of religious study and activities is quite apparent. Always, it would appear, the boy is given more time and training to become an observant, Orthodox Jew than a secular scholar, despite the emphasis placed on secular work in the school.

CHAPTER 7

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE YEARLY CALENDRICAL CYCLE

The ceremonial and teaching life of the school also involves a dialectical interplay between two calendars. Major events of the Academic Tradition - school Terms, tests, vacations, examinations, Speech Night - come into their time, produce their scurry of activity and emotion, but finally pass into school history. Religious Festivals and other ceremonies of the Great Tradition reign for their prescribed periods, following a more ancient and immutable order. For each the pace of life in the school quickens, and far older rituals replace those of the secular calendar. Such, in essence, is the dialectical rhythm of the year.

(1) The two calendars followed by the school

The chronological structure of the year is outlined for parents, staff and others associated with the school by a printed circular distributed at the beginning of the school year (Appendix 4.7). Like all official circulars it carries an abbreviation in Hebrew in the top right hand corner signifying *Barukh Ha-Shem* (Heb.) 'Blessed be the Name' ב״ה .

The timetable gives the dates of the major religious Festivals and holidays during which the secular teaching functions of the school stop. Others coincide with the weekend, and do not involve interruptions to secular schooling. A few other religious events fall on weekdays, but do not entail interruptions to schooling. Their importance to this analysis lies in the demands they make on boys' time, and emotional and physical reserves.

Only the barest details of secular activities are provided, namely, the start and finish of each Term. Bank holidays are not stated as the school does not observe them, as do the majority of Independent schools.

The State vacation sequence is followed, with just over a week's holiday at the end of the first and second Terms, rather than the fortnight customary in the Independent system. To an extent the vacation time lost is made up by the days the school is closed for religious Festivals. However, the interplay between the two calendars means that time for secular schooling is still short despite the curtailed vacations. There is also a deficit due to the early closure of school on Fridays between *Pesach* and *Succos*, a period of some six months, and the loss of two hours teaching time before eleven oclock each day.

There is also a concealed deficit in teaching time, which occurs despite the fact that boys can attend secular classes. Each Festival is preceded by a euphoric build-up and tension when thoughts are not on work. Obligatory fasting, fatigue after all-night religious ceremonies and celebrations, and prohibitions on performing certain types of work on both the Festivals themselves and their intermediate days (Heb. *Chol Ha-moed*) all effectively reduce the boys capacity to make the most of available time in the secular calendar.

(2) The dialectical interplay between the two calendars

(a) Religious ceremonies during the month of *Tishrei*

Due to the arrangement of the Jewish calendar, *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*, with which it is inextricably connected, occur three quarters of the way through the academic year in the ninth and tenth months of the Common Era calendar. In the Jewish calendar, however, *Rosh Hashanah* marks the first two days of the first month (*Tishrei*) and inaugurates the cycle of religious activities that are to follow. It commences the Ten Days of Penitence during which the Fast of Gedaliah occurs on *Tishrei* 3. The period of solemnity of the Ten Days of Penitence reaches a climax of emotional and spiritual endeavour on The Day of Atonement (*Yom Kippur*), the most solemn day in the Jewish calendar.

The whole period is very demanding both psychologically and physically. On both *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* abstention from work is obligatory, as it is on every Sabbath. In this respect *Yom Kippur*, the 'Sabbath of Sabbaths' is subject to the same prohibitions. It is also strictly observed as a twenty four hour fast based on the Biblical injunction 'ye shall afflict your souls' (Lev. 23:27). It lasts from the evening before the Day of Atonement proper (*Erev Yom Kippur* or *Kol Nidrei*) until the following evening. A further abstention among the strictly observant is from wearing leather shoes.[1] Many members of the congregation take their shoes off on entering the synagogue or wear tennis shoes. The ultra-Orthodox reputedly wear them on the wrong feet and devise similar ways to increase the degree of affliction.

Tishrei continues to be rich in religious activities. At the completion of *Yom Kippur* - even just before breaking the fast in the case of the pious - it is a worthy activity to start building the ritual booth (Heb. *succah*), which features during *Succos*, the Festival of Tabernacles starting on *Tishrei* 15. The intermediate (3rd-7th) days of this Festival constitute a period termed *Chol Ha-moed*, and are treated as a combination of weekday and Festival. It is permissible to perform only urgent work. Other work is permitted but only if it is performed in a way that is different enough to distinguish it from normal work. Mourning is restricted and marriages are not performed.[2] The seventh day of *Succos* is

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[1] One of 'five mortifications' featured on the day. The others are: abstention from a) food, b) drink, c) marital intercourse, d) anointing with oil. Strictly, the fast is 25 hours.

[2] These and other restrictions are detailed in *Kitsur Schulchan Aruch*, 104: 19-22.

Hoshana Rabbah, falling during a weekday. For the pious, this day involves an all night vigil (*Tikkun Leil Hoshana Rabbah*)[3] in which the Liturgy includes readings from the Book of Deuteronomy, Psalms and passages from the *Zohar*. The last two days of the Festival are marked by *Shemini Atseret* (Eighth Day of Assembly) and *Simchas Torah* (Rejoicing of the Law). The latter celebrates the custom of completing the reading of the Pentateuch and its immediate commencement with synagogue ceremonies in which the accent is on joy, feasting with some licensed intoxication, dancing and song.

(b) Clashes with secular activities during *Tishrei*

It is thus most obvious that *Tishrei* occupies a position of great prominence in the Jewish calendar and is a very busy period in religious matters. However, it is precisely this time of the academic year that is of critical importance for the fifth and sixth Forms. The 'October Tests' organized by the Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria (I.A.R.T.V.) are traditionally held during the last week of September and first week of October. The dates are fixed so that all schools taking the tests do so at the same time to avoid possible leakage of the questions to schools which may have to take these tests at other times. I.A.R.T.V. regulations to this effect are quite stringent. A period of demanding academic endeavour thus closely follows, or actually coincides with, a period of intense and demanding religious activity. For these Forms, the former is but the prelude to the true academic climax of the year which occurs a month and a half later in mid-November when the Leaving and Higher School Certificate Examinations of the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board (V.U.S.E.B.) start. Lower Forms are spared these October Tests, but they too face final year examinations towards the end of November.

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[3] *Tikkun* - Order of service for special occasions mostly recited at night.

(c) The quiescent period following *Chanukah*

The Festival of *Chanukah* falls at the end of the school year, but makes few demands on time or emotional resources as the prohibition on work does not apply.[4] Some senior boys are still taking external examinations, but the rest of the school enters the period of academic relaxation and let-down which culminates in the Speech Night marking the formal end of secular studies.

Events in the Jewish calendar continue unabated through the vacation and on into the start of another academic year. This begins to get under way for administrative staff in January, but does not formally involve teachers until the beginning of February. Many come in to the school to prepare work, check classrooms and order books prior to this, however.

The period of the vacation is also a quiet one for religious observances. The Fast of *Teveth* occurs during the third week of December (*Teveth* 10), but otherwise the procession of Sabbaths and daily prayers is the main call to religious duties.[5] Many boys are away on family holidays or at camps. The school closes down for the vacation, although activities continue in the *Yeshivah Gedolah* and, of course, in the *shul*.

(3) Resumption of the dialectical interplay at *Purim*

(a) Rejoicing and catharthis at *Purim*

The dialectical interplay between the religious and secular calendars is regenerated by the Fast of Esther. This occurs on the day before the Festival of *Purim*, which commemorates the deliverance of the Jews of the Persian Empire from extermination. The two-day event is marked by considerable rejoicing, exchanges of gifts and festivities, at which a certain degree of licensed intoxication is obligatory (Heb. *Adloyada*). This custom has arisen from the rabbinical injunction that on *Purim* a man should celebrate until he cannot distinguish between 'blessed be Mordecai' and 'cursed be Haman', the two main characters in the *Purim* story. *Shushan Purim* (*Adar* 15) is the day after the main Festival and shares many of its characteristics, although it is not taken as a formal holiday. It is customary to be merry on *Shushan Purim* and to have festive meals.

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[4] A full Festival commemorating the rededication of the Second Temple by Judah the Maccabee on *Kislev* 25, 165 B.C.E.

[5] A fast day commemorating the start of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

(b) Ritual preparations for *Pesach*

Following *Purim* comes *Pesach*, the Festival of Passover, an eight day holiday which occurs some fifteen teaching days before first Term tests and examinations. Prior to this major Festival, there are many activities taking place in the school complex, in particular the baking of *matzos* (unleavened bread) during the preceding weekends. The search for *hametz* (leaven) in classrooms takes place on the morning of the day the school breaks up for the holiday, and is the occasion for much industrious and squirrel-like activity particularly on the part of junior boys. They thoroughly clean out cupboards and desks in a search for the prohibited leaven. If found, it is taken to be destroyed. The room off the *shul* normally used by the sixth Form becomes a storage place for cooking and domestic utensils deposited by members of the congregation in compliance with the strict laws of ritual purity which are in force during *Pesach*.[6]

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[6] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 111-116.

The baking of *matzos* is an example of how strictly the *Halachah* is followed by the Orthodox congregation attached to the school. *Matzah* (pl. *matzos*) is the thin, flat, unleavened loaf some eight inches in diameter which has a central place in the *Seder*, and accompanies subsequent meals during the whole of *Pesach*. Strictly Orthodox Jews bake 'specially guarded *matzah*' (Heb. *Shmurah matzah*) from flour which is carefully supervised from the moment the wheat is harvested. Strictly observant Jews can obtain supplies of *shmurah matzah* from the school complex, where baking takes place following the conclusion of *Shabbos* on weekends prior to *Pesach*.

All boys attending the school cannot help but be aware of this activity. The small red-brick building which normally functions as the school library is cleared of books and all other paraphernalia, and is then purified of *hametz*. A large wooden cover bolted against one wall is removed to reveal a baker's oven fired by a wood furnace. At the rear of the building, a temporary lean-to of timber and hardboard is erected to house the flour and water when baking is in process. Normally the former is kept in a small room leading off the library/bakery. It is ground from special grain which has been cut by an Orthodox Jew. The water must be kept cool. Well before the library is cleared for baking the flour must be carefully ground. On two occasions, my matriculation social studies classes in the library were interrupted briefly by the emergence of the baker, eyes red and his whole body covered in flour after a session of grinding. I was momentarily startled, although the boys took it in their stride.

Baking itself is a highly organized and ritualized process, carried out as quickly as possible so that the dough does not have a chance to ferment. A disciplined team of Lubavitcher rabbis, women, pupils from the school, other rabbis and the *shochet* was involved the day I went to watch. Two Lubavitcher rabbis were kneading dough in a metal pan on a small table in the shelter. From there it was immediately passed through a window to a group of women at a large table where it was rapidly divided into portions, and rolled into thin 'pancakes' about eight inches in diameter by the use of smooth wooden rollers some eighteen inches long. Equally quickly, the 'pancake' was impressed with small holes by boys using spiked metal rollers or a single spiked metal wheel. Each portion of flat dough was draped over the end of a twelve-foot long wooden pole and handed to the baker, who pushed it into the oven, and with a dexterous twist flipped the 'pancake' onto the hotplate. Baking took about a minute in the intense heat, then the *matzah* was removed by a long-handled metal spatula and placed on a nearby table to cool.

Speed and ritual cleanliness were of paramount importance to prevent the dough from fermenting or becoming contaminated by *hametz*. Many poles and rollers were used in relays. After several uses the latter were taken outside to the nearby wash troughs and meticulously cleaned, as they had to be free from any adhering dough. A team of boys and men was involved in this operation, using sandpaper to rub down the rollers. This was closely supervised by the *shochet*, with the function here of ensuring the ritual purity of the food. Periodically, all had to wash their hands at the troughs.

The overwhelming impression was of orderly disciplined bustle, quiet excitement, and children darting around all over the place obviously sharing in, and thoroughly enjoying, the atmosphere. Yet no sign of all this industry remained on the following Monday, except for the shelter at the rear of the building and the heat still radiating from the chimney built against the wall.

(c) Activities during *Pesach* and the following weeks

The day before the school recesses for *Pesach* considerable euphoria builds up, accentuated by the several ritual preparations relating to the search for *hametz*. The first two and last two days of *Pesach* are considered holy days: all work on them is prohibited. Special dietary laws also apply for the duration of the Festival.[7] The intervening days are not entirely a holiday, but is a period during which some academic work can be undertaken, provided it is not enjoyable.

Not all activities are so constrained. On the first Sunday, Lubavitcher Youth organizes a re-union get-together for those who attended the summer camp back in the long vacation. The event is held at a small tourist resort in a range of hills to the east of Melbourne. A *kosher* restaurant and hotel are located there, and it is not uncommon to be walking in the surrounding woods and meet Jewish families, dressed in their Sabbath best, striding along the path, heartily singing traditional Jewish melodies or Israeli folk songs.

The re-union is advertised by Lubavitcher Youth by a multi-coloured, cyclostyled sheet which is circulated to all the boys (Appendix 4.9). It combines schoolboy humour with some features that reflect some of the hidden aspects of being a Jewish boy at such a time. For instance, a cartoon on the sheet (not reproduced) shows a train puffing along a railway line, with a Jewish boy, complete with *yarmelkeh* clinging wildly to the last carriage. Further along the track another boy (with *yarmelkeh*) and a science fiction fantasy figure prepare to dynamite the track. These are only incidentals in a sheet which nevertheless contains two or three interesting features. Prominence is given to the phrase FEEL LIKE LETTING

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[7] Ibid.

OFF A LITTLE STEAM, and the Jewish abbreviation occurs as indicated at the top *and* the bottom of the page. Reliance on Divine protection for a safe return seems implied.

The intermediate days (2nd-6th) are *Chol Ha-moed* and subject to the same restrictions noted for the intermediate days of *Succos*. Associated rituals also continue. From the second day of *Pesach* begins the *Sefirah*, Counting of the Omer, usually incorporated into the Evening Service (*Maariv*), after an appropriate blessing.[8] It is followed by a prayer for the restoration of the Temple. The first thirty two days of the *Sefirah* constitute a period of semi-mourning and sadness.[9] During it, merriment, having one's hair cut and the wearing of new clothes are all forbidden. The ban is lifted on the thirty third day at the minor Festival of *Lag Ba-Omer*. During this day at school, numerous boys request permission to go for a haircut.

The *Sefirah* continues for a full seven weeks (forty nine days). The fiftieth day sees the start of *Shavuot*, Festival of Weeks (Pentecost).[10] During the evening and night before *Shavuot*, (*Erev Shavuot*), an all-night service is conducted in the synagogue, the *Tikkun Leil Shavuot* (*Tikkun* for the eve of *Shavuot*). This includes extracts from *Chumash* and Talmud, with related interpretative commentaries and mystic literature.[11] Prayers, recitations and liturgical poems dealing with the 613 Precepts, or Commandments of Moses, form part of the all-night service.

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[8] *Omer* - sheaf cut in the barley harvest; a measure of barley offered in the Temple during Biblical times (Lev. 23: 10-14).

[9] The notion that this period involves an element of mourning is based on a Talmudic reference to the plague that killed 24,000 disciples of Rabbi Akiva (*Yevamot* 62b).

[10] The alternative Mishnaic name *Atzeret*, (Heb.) 'Termination', for *Shavuot* signifies that the counting has been completed.

[11] Midrash and *Zohar*.

Proceedings start with a party and games organized by Lubavitch Youth for younger boys and girls. A duplicated circular advertises the event (Appendix 4.10), which goes on until later in the evening when senior boys escort the younger children home, and return to the synagogue to take part in *Shavuot-lerner* circles on a variety of topics. These go from about 9 p.m. to 2 a.m., and bring out the function of the synagogue as a place in which to learn, hence its alternative colloquial name *shul*. The *Shavuot-lerner* circles are conducted in a mixture of Yiddish, Hebrew and English which effectively precluded my attendance. 'You wouldn't possibly be able to understand anything - pointless you coming', was the defensive rejoinder from a Jewish staff member when I inquired about the possibility. The night ends with *Shacharis*, prayed early in the morning; then the boys go home to sleep.

(4) The events of the second Term - a quiescent period

In contrast to first Term, with its abundance of Festivals and religious observances, second Term is relatively free, and long periods of unbroken secular teaching are possible. The Fast of *Tammuz* (*Tammus* 12)[12] takes place in July and marks the beginning of the annual Three Weeks of Mourning. During these all festivities and haircuts are forbidden. The Three Weeks ends on *Tisha B'Av*, Ninth of *Av*, which is a Day of Mourning when the school is closed. It is observed as a fast which, like *Yom Kippur*, starts at nightfall and lasts for twenty four hours.

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[12] The date commemorating the breaching of the walls of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E. and by Titus in 70 C.E.

The special Liturgy for the day includes the recital of *kinot* or dirges, and readings from the Book of Lamentations. *Tisha B'Av* commemorates not only all the historical disasters to the Jewish people, which have reputedly occurred on that date, but all the tragic events in which Jewish history abounds. To mark the special sadness of the day lights are replaced by candles in the *shul*, and the normal pews are rearranged to permit members of the congregation to sit on the floor or low benches as a sign of mourning.

Secular teaching at this time is suspended while the school is closed, but resumes immediately afterwards for an unbroken three weeks or so, culminating in second Term tests or examinations. The week's vacation that follows provides a much needed break for all, as this Winter term is typically the most taxing on health and energy. As soon as third Term commences after the vacation, the introduction of *Selichot* or penitential hymns into the Liturgy of the *Shabbos* before *Rosh Hashanah* heralds the approach of that Festival, and the completion of the cycle and dialectical interplay it started.

(5) Variations in the calendrical cycle in the following year

The dialectical interplay between the two calendars varies from year to year. During 1969, a number of the Jewish Festivals coincided with weekends or religious events in the Christian calendar, and their effects on secular activities were minimised. In 1970 there was less of this type of correspondence. As the circular shown in Appendix 4.8 indicates, the school closed for the Easter period in deference to the non-Jewish staff, although the reason for the closure (March 27-31) is not indicated. In addition more major Festivals corresponded with weekdays. To balance some of the time lost, the vacations between Terms were reduced by one day -

Terms 2 and 3 beginning on a Monday rather than on Tuesday. The school also closed for the summer holidays a week later. As in 1969, no Australian Bank holidays were taken.

(6) Summary

The calendrical organization of activities during the school year brings two systems of arranging study and ceremony into dialectical interplay. The calendar of the Great Tradition is fixed by immutable, Biblical law and involves a marked historicity and past-orientation. This is nowhere so obvious as when it comes into conflict with the Academic Tradition, which is markedly future-oriented at times when boys are feverishly preparing for the examinations on which their future roles depend. When such a clash occurs, the Academic Tradition has to defer to the Great Tradition.

The dialectical interplay has a marked influence on boys' emotions and behaviours. Major events in both Traditions carry them up to peaks of cathectic tension, which are followed by discharge of tension or catharsis which is either ritualized as in the celebrations of *Purim*, or unintentional as when the post-fast period produces a lethargic let-down. The boys' reactions to the dialectical interplay are analyzed in more detail in Part Three.

CHAPTER 8

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF TRADITION

Ritual and ceremony are important ways of reinforcing and organizing the transmission of tradition. In a school, they are components in the learning experiences available to the children (Bernstein, Elvin & Peters, 1971). Through them 'distinctive patterns of collective feeling and belief [are] passed along to new group members' (Katz & Kahn, 1966: 66). Group cohesiveness is strengthened: important historical associations and their meanings are rehearsed, and reinforced for each generation.

The distinction between ritual and ceremony has been considerably debated (Leach, 1964: 607-8), but is taken here to be one of scale and complexity rather than of kind. For the following analysis, the view of Theodorson and Theodorson (1970: 351) is followed, and a ceremony is defined as a more or less formal, standardized sequence of rituals performed or celebrated collectively by a group. Rituals can be performed by an individual acting alone. In the preceding chapters several examples have been noted: reciting a Blessing, washing hands, touching the *mezuzah*. Secular activity in school can also be ritualized, for example, putting up one's hand to attract attention in class, standing up when someone enters the room.

By such ritualization, actions are invested with an importance which transcends their mere performance. 'Ritual in humans generally refers to a relatively rigid pattern of acts specific to a situation which construct a framework of meaning over and beyond the specific situational meanings' (Bernstein *et al*, op.cit. p.160). As defined, ceremonies are collectively performed rituals, and thus also construct frameworks of meaning. The main concern of this chapter is with the types of ceremonies that can be distinguished in the school, and the extent to which they confirm the duality that has begun to emerge in previous chapters.

(1) Types of ceremonies

Devising typologies is generally fraught with dangers, but, *pace* Leach (1961), an attempt is made in this section to devise a schema of ceremonies that were witnessed in the school over the year. It can first be considered in 'secular' terms, following Bernstein *et al* (loc. cit.), as transmitting two cultures: an instrumental one and an expressive one. The former consists of 'activities, procedures and judgments' involved in the acquisition of specific (vocationally important) skills. The latter consists of 'activities, procedures and judgments involved in the transmission of values and their derived norms'.

The expressive/instrumental dichotomy is familiar in anthropology (Beattie, 1964: 202 ff.), being usually applied to ritual and ceremony. It thus seems appropriate to take the view that the school transmits the instrumental culture through instrumental ceremonies and the expressive culture through expressive ceremonies. Thus, equating 'secular' with the Academic Tradition, we might expect to find in the life of the school, ceremonies that relate to the acquisition of knowledge and skills appropriate to the academic curriculum, and ceremonies that convey its 'values and their derived norms'.

We can assume that the Great Tradition is also transmitted by rituals and ceremonies, which are both religious and infused with the 'totality of Jewishness' (Medding, 1968: 13), albeit with a strong Lubavitcher quality. It seems proper to refer to this element of the school as religious. Following Robertson (1970: 54 ff.), we can apply the instrumental/expressive dichotomy to its 'orientations to religious activity'. Thus, allowing for both religious and secular activities in the school, and the two types of ceremonies relating to each, four distinctions can be cross-tabulated as in the following schema.[1]

Tradition Ceremonial	Religious (Great Tradition)	Secular (Academic Tradition)
Expressive	1	3
Instrumental	2	4

Four types of ceremonial orientation can be distinguished. The first can be termed the *expressive-religious* type of ceremony. This entails purely religious rituals relating to the 'transmission of values and their derived norms'. Those involved are adherents of the ideology and congregation associated with the school. The second type of ceremony can be termed *instrumental-religious*, in which rituals are used to disseminate aspects of the ideology, particularly knowledge and skills, in order to persuade others of its desirability or superiority. A clear manipulative element is present, with ceremony being a means to an end, rather than an end in itself.

The third and fourth types are those associated with the Academic Tradition. *Expressive-secular* ceremonies are designed to express the values and norms of the school as an academic institution. *Instrumental-secular* ceremonies involve activities relating to the acquisition of knowledge and skills which are likely to be *vocationally* important. As with their religious counterparts, *instrumental-secular* ceremonies are manipulative and involve altering or attempting to alter the status quo, even if only to improve standards of academic achievement.

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[1] Based on a similar schema of Robertson, but substituting 'expressive' for his term 'consummatory'.

We can discuss a number of distinguishing features common to each of the types of ceremonial orientations along the lines of Sklare (1958: 357), who applies the features to religious worship. These are the *programme*, *content*, and *form* of the ceremonies. The first refers to the set times and customary occasions for holding ceremonies. The second refers to their logical and philosophical justification in terms of interdependent beliefs, traditions, myths, and principles. The third refers to the 'external appearances' of the ceremonies - the behavioural outcomes, expressed attitudes, and shared goals. As Sklare notes (loc. cit.), content and form are strictly inseparable, but are distinguished separately here for purposes of analysis.

(2) Expressive-religious ceremonies

(a) The programme

The school meticulously follows the religious calendar of Orthodox Judaism. Expressive-religious ceremonies are held on a daily and weekly basis. Other prominent ceremonies are *calendrical*, marking stages in the annual cycle of activities. The weekly Sabbath, the three set times for daily prayer, and the major Festivals and Fasts constitute the basic programme.

The Sabbath and daily prayers have been discussed above, and the emphasis was placed on their function in making time available for religious worship. The major Festivals are also important occasions for worship, but their nature and dominant themes are thrown into relief, however, when they are considered *en bloc*. There are five Festivals observed during the year: the three Pilgrim Festivals (*Pesach*, *Shavuot* and *Succos*), *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*. To these Biblical Festivals have been added some post-

Biblical ones. These are divided into full Festivals, with their special ceremonial and Liturgy (*Purim* and *Chanukah*), and semi-Festivals such as the New Year of Trees; the anniversary of the traditional death of Moses; *Lag ba-Omer*; and *Hoshana Rabbah*.

There are six Fasts which the observant Jew must observe during the year. Of these the most stringent are *Yom Kippur* and *Tisha B'Av*, which both last twenty four hours. The period of abstention for the remainder is from daybreak until nightfall. Apart from *Yom Kippur*, all Fasts which coincide with the Sabbath are generally observed on the Sunday following.

(b) Content of ceremonies

The ideological justification for the ceremonial life of Orthodox Judaism has involved complex rabbinical debate which cannot be explored at length here. Some indication of its complexity emerged in drawing up the value orientation typology, but it seems possible to bring together some of the interdependent ideas about which some consensus seems to have been established.

Ceremonies have an underlying ideology which stresses their consecratory and disciplinary function whereby fealty to God is expressed (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 83). As Epstein has commented: 'Consecration is also the keynote of the multiplicity of rites that encompass the life of the Jew' (Epstein, 1959: 161). As ceremonies have historical roots dating back to Biblical times, historicity seems an important component in ceremonial. The Pilgrim Festivals combine motives of agricultural thanksgiving and commemoration of major historical events in the life of the Jewish people. *Pesach* commemorates the anniversary of the Exodus from Egypt; *Shavuot*, the Revelation upon Mount Sinai; *Succos*, the forty years wandering in the wilderness. In contrast, the Festivals of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* 'are celebrated as purely religious occasions of judgment, atonement, and reconciliation with God' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 144). However, their historical origins are still obvious in the Biblical injunctions on which they are based.

All Fasts are similarly derived from historical events or, as in the case of *Yom Kippur*, a specific Biblical injunction 'ye shall afflict your souls' (Lev. 23:27). The remainder are days of mourning commemorating tragic events in Jewish history. Four of them date back to the period of the First Temple, or immediately after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C.E.[2] The Fast of Esther (*Adar* 13), to celebrate the delivery of the Jews from the tyrant Haman, was a later addition.

Collectivity is a closely related component of ceremonial. It is part and parcel of ceremony by definition, but the collective character of ceremonies is given explicit recognition in Judaism. It is firstly apparent in the liturgical, as opposed to the Biblical, names for the Pilgrim Festivals, in which the term 'our' occurs. *Pesach* is 'The Season of our Freedom'; *Shavuot* 'The Season of the Giving of our *Torah*'; *Succos* 'The Season of our Rejoicing'. Collectivity is clearly apparent in the Liturgy and worship which are fundamental to all ceremonies. Although worship is collective, its style is 'individualistic, informally-conducted and worshipper-centred' (Sklare, 1958: 653 f.n. 12). These are the connotations of the Yiddish term *daven* meaning 'pray', as seen in Orthodox *shuls*.

(c) Form of ceremonies

The outcomes of the inter-dependent content components of consecration, historicity, collectivity of worship, and style of prayer are various types of interaction incidents which involve boys and adult members of the congregation attending the *shul*. Although this is but one of the settings in which such incidents occur, it is there that expressive-religious ceremonies are most obviously conducted in a manner sanctioned both by tradition and Holy Writ. In the following account, no attempt can be made to describe fully every major ceremony I attended. Instead, I try to catch something of the 'flavour' of ceremonial life in the *shul* - the general patterns of collective behaviour and its concomitant emotional dynamics.

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[2] *Tisha B'Av* (*Av* 9); *Tammuz* 17; *Tishrei* 3; *Tevet* 10.

Participants in the majority of ceremonies comprise adult men and women, and children of both sexes. There seems to be no problem of obtaining a *minyan* of adult males, as not only laity but also young Lubavitcher rabbis *daven* in the *shul*. This may seem unexceptional, but other synagogues in the area cannot always gather the necessary *minyan*. This was brought home to me when I overheard F_________ in my Form urgently pleading with a friend to come to his small synagogue and make up a *minyan* for *Maariv*. Some days previously, he had told me that his family had moved into the neighbourhood of the school, because getting a *minyan* in his former suburb had been virtually impossible.

Although worship is collective in the *shul*, participants are physically separated according to the sexes. Women and adolescent girls sit in the balcony. Their separation from the men is compounded by the muslin curtain, which is an effective screen during most services. However, at ceremonies such as the Reading of the *Megillah* (The Scroll of Esther) at *Purim*, or during *Simchas Torah* - both occasions of rejoicing and mild, licensed merry-making - the curtain is dispensed with altogether. Even during the Sabbath services, it is not uncommon to see women drawing the curtain aside momentarily for a quick peep at the proceedings below.

Breakdown of sexual separation, with a consequent increase in the informality of the proceedings, occurs to an extent from the custom of 'visiting'. Small children of both sexes wander into the main chamber of the *shul* to find their fathers, or may accompany them for part of the service. During the procession of the Scrolls at *Simchas Torah*, or throughout the Reading of the *Megillah*, small children take an active role in proceedings. In the former they join the procession, carrying small scrolls or flags. In the latter they help raise the derisive cacophony with rattles (*groggers*), or by banging and stamping whenever the name of the 'villain' Haman occurs, as the reader tells the story from the *bimah*. Their too energetic participation in this tradition, which dates back to the 13th century in Germany and France, earns them frowns from the adults or a reprimand from the bursar. He scurries anxiously around stopping small boys from banging pew lids up and down.

Adolescent boys are in the congregation as a matter of course, or worship in an adjoining room at services conducted by the Lubavitcher Youth. Occasionally an older girl is sent down from the balcony to fetch a small child, but comes only to the door of the main hall without venturing in. She either manages to signal to the child, or gets a message relayed to her father by other members of the congregation.

Involvement of young children and adolescent boys and girls is thus a notable feature of life in the *shul*. They are always there on Sabbaths and Festivals, boys dressed in best suits and wearing hats or *yarmelkehs* - miniature editions of their fathers - girls in best dresses. Little ones wander around freely. Young boys may keep together in small groups, taking part in worship, or chatting and sometimes sky-larking so that they earn a reprimand from nearby adults. Older youths keep in smaller groups, and are more conscious of their religious duties. On occasions, however, this does not prevent them looking up to the balcony to catch a glimpse of the girls present, or obviously indulging in social gossip during the Readings. The most serious youths take an active part in worship. Some congregate in small groups around the *bimah* during prayer and Readings, others *daven* with fervour in the aisles at the side of the hall.

The presence of children and youths accentuates a marked feature of all the ceremonies I attended - the informality and mobility of adult participants. Pews are available and some are occupied at all times, but men frequently wander out of the main hall during the Reading or repetition of some prayers for a chat or smoke in the foyer. Meanwhile the service continues behind the heavy swing doors that separate it from the hall. Even inside there is an impression of incessant motion and apparent lack of order. Some men sit relatively still in their pews intent on devotions, only rising and moving at the appropriate ritual moments in the Liturgy. Others are constantly turning around to look at others, or occasionally half rise and lean over to talk to a neighbour. Apparently inattentive, worshippers' eyes rove around the *shul* glancing here and there. Heads crane to catch a glimpse of an acquaintance, a hand automatically flicks the *tallit* over the shoulder from which it has fallen or more dramatically sweeps it back into position.

Many worshippers stand and move around in the aisles or the space at the back of the *shul* behind the pews. Some of their movement is purely spontaneous, while parts of it are related to the ritual gestures associated with prayer. This is particularly evident in the genuflections and prescribed steps at various points in the *Shemoneh Esreh*,[3] a Silent Prayer which constitutes the most important part of the Morning Service next to the *Shema*. The Lubavitcher rabbis, some conspicuous in their black, silk *kapotas*, *gartels*, and broad-brimmed black hats, are more emphatic in their movements than others.[4] On occasions, their actions have a charismatic flamboyance, accentuated by their distinctive dress and the intangible authority of their general demeanour. They are always quick to start the Chassidic chanting and hand clapping if the mood and moment of festive ceremonies are appropriate. One senses that here is something of the euphoric *hithlahabuth* of the Chassidim, the 'paratroopers of religion' to adopt Firth's description of dedicated religious mystics (Firth, 1964: 294).

Despite seeming disorder and lack of decorum, due in part to there being no distinction between the secular and sacred in Judaism, there is always present in the *shul* a basic reverence and devotion, accentuated by symbolic rituals of many kinds. As the Scroll is taken from the Ark to the *bimah* by a rabbi, worshippers move forward to touch or kiss it reverently. On *Simchas Torah* when all Scrolls are processed it is *mitzvah* for all to perform this act. As many as possible press around the Scrolls, cradled carefully in the arms of those carrying them in the euphoric seven circuits (*hakkaphot*) of the hall. Children are held up to kiss the Scrolls, and those old enough may even have an opportunity to carry one in the circle dancing that occurs on this Festival after the service.

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[3] *Shemoneh Esreh* (Heb.) 'Eighteen Benedictions'; more usually known as the *Amidah*: the 'prayer to be said standing'.

[4] *Kapota* (Yidd.) - a calf-length, black, coat worn by extremely Orthodox Jews and Chassidim; *gartel* (Yidd.) - girdle made of black silk or wool.

Reading the Scroll is similarly invested with symbolic actions that heighten the reverence in which it is held.

At *Succos*, symbolism is a dominant aspect during the *Hallel* prayer on each of the days of the Festival. After reciting the appropriate Benediction - 'to take the *lulav*', adult males hold the four species in their hands, and 'wave' them while reciting the Psalms constituting the prayer.[5] 'Waving' consists of making jabbing movements of the four species in four directions as well as upwards and downwards. They are also carried in a circuit of the synagogue on each of the days. The spectacle of waving palm fronds and absorbed, devoted, ritual movements in the *shul* is a memorable one, and emphasizes dramatically the ancient, historical basis of Orthodox Judaism.

Such a description conveys little of the Lubavitcher style with which this particular ceremony is carried out. The day I attended, about a quarter of the congregation had the four species. Before *Hallel* many left the hall to fetch them. The *shammas* beckoned me out to the communal *succah* at the back of the dining room where a bustle of activity was taking place.[6] Men were straightening their *lulavim*, or arranging the willow fronds by passing them with a caressing motion through their fingers. After the 'waving' in the *shul* the circuit began. All those with the four species joined in, chanting quietly. One or two fathers carried their little sons in the procession. The rabbi beckoned other children to the *bimah* where he handed them sweets fished from his pocket. While members of the congregation filed out after the service, the rabbi and other Lubavitchers started a Chassidic round dance, with several rabbinical students and boys from the school. The rabbi carried a little boy during the euphoric dancing, hand-clapping and chanting of 'oi, oi, oi'. While I watched, my friend's son came up to invite me to a meal in the *succah* his parents shared with the *shammas* and others living in the same block of flats.[7]

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[5] In obedience to the Biblical injunction 'And ye shall take you on the first day of the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, boughs of thick trees and willows of the brook and rejoice before the Lord your God seven days' (Lev. 23: 40). The four species (Heb. *Arbaah minim*) are traditionally made up of one palm branch (*lulav*), held in the right hand, one *esrog* (a species of citrus fruit) held in the left hand, three sprigs of myrtle and two willow twigs which are bound together and held with the *lulav*.

[6] *Shammas* (Heb.) 'servant'. A key official in the *shul*, and equivalent to a church sexton. Duties include keeping some order during worship, supplying visiting members of congregation with *tallisim* (prayer shawls) or prayer books if they have none, and making communal announcements - in this *shul* in Yiddish.

The emotional fervour evident on this occasion, as at many other ceremonies, owed much to Chassidic and East European influences. Purely religious rituals such as the spine-chilling blasts of the *shophar* on *Rosh Hashanah*, or the rabbi's deeply moving rendition of *Kol Nidrei* which commences *Yom Kippur*, have an intrinsic emotional impact. Their effects are heightened by the often unobtrusive Chassidic style of conducting worship. In concentrating on the *bimah* during the Reading of the Scroll, I almost missed noticing a rabbi leaning across the vacated prayer desk at the front of the *shul*. This is an old Chassidic custom, I was informed. While *Torah* is being read, a Chassid must guard the prayer desk. Unless told, I would also have been unaware that the Lubavitchers use their own variation of Hebrew and Aramaic in prayers; one they consider more akin to the original language of the Bible.

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[7] For personal reasons out of deference to my hosts, I have chosen not to describe in detail this memorable occasion, although it entailed a number of important ritual and symbolic incidents germane to the tenor of my argument in this chapter concerning the all pervasive influence of expressive-religious ceremonial on children.

Some customs, whether of East European folk or Chassidic origin, are more obtrusive. The rabbi in white *kittel*, patrolling the *shul* during the long Morning Service of *Yom Kippur*, hushes the gossip of a group of men seated at the back of the hall, then offers us all a pinch of snuff from a small silver box.[8] 'Phew! That's strong', comments one with a wry grimace, 'but it will keep me awake'. Of East European tradition also is the custom of auctioning Readings of the *Torah* or the privilege of officiating at various rituals to do with unbinding, holding and rebinding the Scroll on the *bimah*. On *Rosh Hashanah*, for instance, many honours were auctioned by the *shammas*, and conducted as usual in Yiddish.

Young Lubavitcher rabbis and boys from the school formed a solid group in front of the *bimah* on this occasion, and were a focus of much prayer and song. The rabbi frequently turned to them to whip up the singing with broad sweeps of his clenched hands. The obvious fervour they generated was a welcome spur to devotion in a service which, by that time, had already lasted some three hours on into the early afternoon. It finished at about 2 p.m.

However, the expression of Orthodox devotion was still not exhausted. Some eighty or so members of the congregation walked to a nearby beach later that afternoon - a distance of about two miles - where they were joined by a large group from other Orthodox *shuls* for the ceremony of *Tashlikh*.[9] At this, Blessings and Readings from Scripture are recited, and males shake their *tzitzit* over the water as a symbolic casting of sins into the sea. After *Tashlikh*, all danced on the sand.

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[8] *Kittel* - a long ankle-length white robe worn by traditional *Ashkenazim* during prayers on *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*.

[9] A custom originating in the late Middle Ages based on Micah 7: 19 'He will again have compassion upon us; He will subdue our iniquities; and Thou wilt cast (Heb. *tashlikh*) all their sins into the depths of the sea'.

(3) Instrumental-religious ceremonies

(a) The programme

Closely related to expressive-religious ceremonies are those that are related to religious or traditional beliefs, but do not form part of the official religious calendar. Instrumental-religious ceremonies thus need not necessarily adhere to any set timing, and can even be arranged on a more or less *ad hoc* basis. I witnessed two such ceremonies during the year and have sufficient detail to comment briefly on a third held just after I left the school. Others, such as the welcome to the six Lubavitcher rabbis, were held at times when I could not be present.

A Siyum Ha-Torah celebration, marking the completion of a new *Sefer Torah* (Scroll of the Law), was held in late August. This date was contingent upon the new Scroll's arrival from Jerusalem, where it had been especially written for the congregation. A *Torah* Evening at which boys demonstrated their knowledge and skills in Jewish studies was held in mid-September. In the following year just prior to *Pesach*, a school assembly was held to mark the break-up for this important Festival.

(b) Content of ceremonies

Although there are religious overtones in all the instrumental-religious ceremonies their ideological bases seem subtly different. Firstly, they are opportunities to extol by word and deed the desirability of the group's way of life, its knowledge and skills. In consequence the collective rituals have a strong hortative component, in which remarks stress the significance of what is occurring, point to a moral, and emphasize the desirability of adopting such a way of life or ideology. In short, the beliefs of the participants are being manipulated, if only to the extent of being reinforced. In contrast, the expressive-religious ceremonies 'speak for themselves'.

The message is enhanced by an emphasis on tradition which comes through in both what is said at the ceremony and how it is conducted. Precept is allied to example. A clear sense of the instrumental function of the ceremony - ceremonial as a means to a defined, foreseen end rather than an end in itself - colours what occurs. In consequence, much stress is laid on the future outcomes which can be anticipated provided the exhortations are heeded. This future-orientation is most apparent in ceremonies that anticipate or foreshadow an expressive-religious ceremony to come. Its dominant theme is used to point the moral of the exhortations.

(c) Form of ceremonies

The two instrumental-religious ceremonies I attended were sufficiently self-contained and unique during the year to be described in full rather than, as above, by drawing out significant features common to a larger number of ceremonies.

The *Torah* Evening, which had been advertised in the Jewish press a week earlier, started at about 7.30 p.m. on a weekday in the main hall of the *shul*. In contrast to the Sabbath and Festival occasions, the balcony curtains were raised so that some twenty or so women and girls could watch proceedings. About thirty to forty men, including the boys' teachers, constituted the remainder of the audience.

Proceedings got off to a ragged start. Informality seemed to be the keynote of the evening, with the rabbi acting as compere and speaking almost exclusively in Yiddish, often addressing members of the audience personally. He moved around the *bimah* while boys gave their recitations,

The Principal introduces two primary Grade pupils from the *bimah* during the *Torah* Evening. The curtains in the women's balcony are drawn up.

occasionally interjecting in approval, correcting here and there, or questioning to find out what had been done. Meanwhile the boys' male teachers fussed around their pupils, obviously nervous and apprehensive as to how they would perform. Several remained close to the *bimah* to help where needed, adjust a faulty microphone, or lend moral support.

In an introductory speech in Yiddish, the rabbi appeared to mention that excerpts from *TeNaCh Chumash*, Mishnah, *Gemara*, and the Lubavitcher Rebbe's letters and addresses would comprise the programme. Reference was also made to *pilpulim* (discussions).

A small group of Grade 2 boys then recited the names of the *Parshes* of the *Torah*, and recited excerpts.[10] Before this more formal rendition they sang a little song in Hebrew incorporating the days of the week. They were over-excited, and would have gone on and on had not the rabbi checked them quickly. Grade 3 followed with a short synopsis of the *Sidros Lech Lecha* and *Vayera*, and both translated into English and gave explanations of various parts.[11]

Two Grade 4 boys from the special group studying Mishnah explained two *mishnos* of the tractate *Shabbos*.[12] These were followed by

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[10] Details of each rendition have been compiled from field notes and a report on the evening in *The Australian Jewish News*, October 3, 1969. The latter has been quoted extensively as most announcements at the time were in Yiddish and only the most obvious words based on slight knowledge of German could be distinguished.

Parshes (Yidd.) 'portions' (Heb. *parashiyyot* pl.). The 54 scriptural readings into which the Pentateuch is divided.

[11] Two *parashiyyot* - Genesis 12:1 - 17:27 and 18:1 - 22:24.

[12] One of the twelve tractates into which the second (*Moed* 'Appointed times') of the six orders of Mishnah is divided. *Mishnos* - chapters within a tractate.

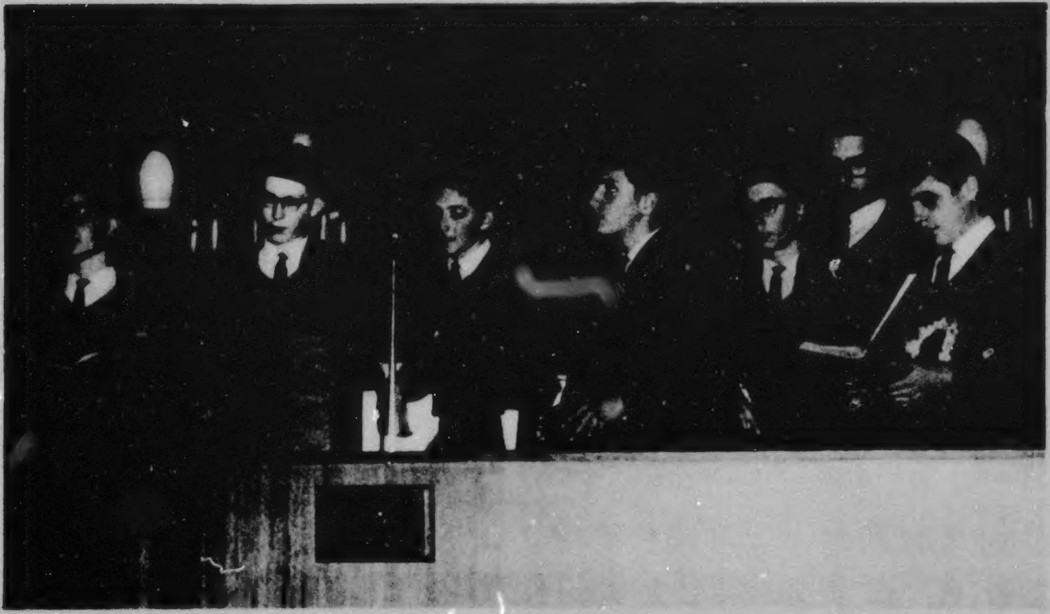
Grade 5 boys who conversed in modern Hebrew about the Holidays. A student from Grade 6 gave an explanation in Yiddish of the Judicial System, *Sanhedrin*.

The rabbi took a more active role when introducing boys from the secondary Forms. One senior boy was referred to as 'our young Chassid and scholar', and a group of fourth and fifth Form boys as *yeshivah bokkerim* - students of Talmudical high school. A third Form boy was introduced in glowing terms as a brilliant scholar and the son of a rabbi in Sydney, himself a noted scholar. The tone of the rabbi's comments undoubtedly indicated a high regard for religious scholarship, which he wished to convey to the audience.

The fourth and fifth Form boys gave a commentary on a Talmudic tractate, reading in Hebrew with immediate translation into English. Commentary, counter-arguments and conclusion were discussed in *pilpulistic*, dialectical style. The more senior students gave individual speeches. One, in Yiddish on the *mitzvot* associated with *Rosh Hashanah* was read with considerable maturity of style and oratory by a matriculation boy. Also read, was part of a letter on *Rosh Hashanah* from the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

The *tour-de-force* was undoubtedly the performance of the rabbi's son from Sydney. He gave a Talmudic commentary *in Yiddish* entirely from memory for a period of some ten minutes. There was no falter whatsoever, although the delivery style was of monotonous intensity, in a metallic tone, and lacking the warmth of the matriculation student. I had heard such memorized recitals before. On his *Bar Mitzvah*, the son of a prominent Lubavitcher had given the traditional Talmudic discourse at the feast which followed Morning Service. He spoke in Yiddish for nearly fifteen minutes entirely from memory, while his rabbi followed the speech from a written

A group of primary Grade pupils and their teacher at the *Torah* Evening. The Ark of the Law and *Ner Tamid* can be seen in the background.



Senior boys give a commentary on a Talmudic tractate from the *bimah* in the *shul*.

copy held unobtrusively under the table at which we were sitting. Both performances were undoubted feats of memory, but far from uncommon in Jewish scholarship. Rumour had it that this rabbi himself knew all five Books of the Pentateuch by heart.

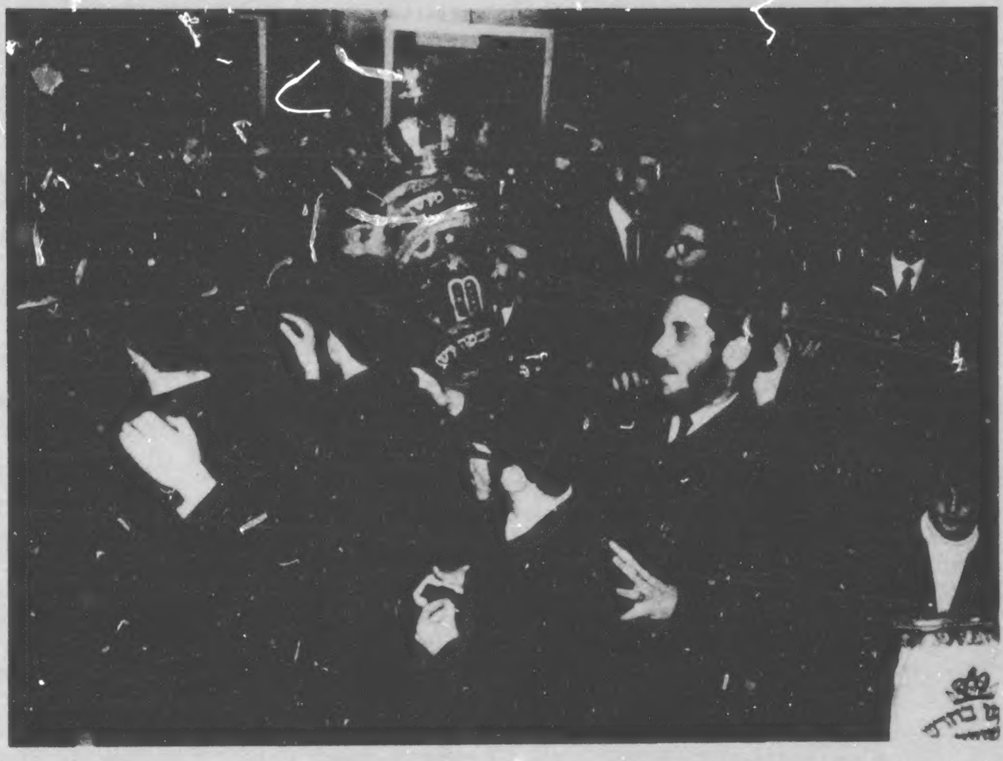
On the *Torah* evening, many of those present in the audience obviously appreciated the *pilpul* and followed it closely, nodding at points in the argument, and giving spontaneous exclamations of approval when it was completed. The young Sydney scholar's performance drew warm applause, from both the audience and the rabbi personally. Swinging around triumphantly to those present, he congratulated the boy in ringing Yiddish with a warmth that again indicated the high value placed on the knowledge and skills the evening demonstrated. Despite his obvious enthusiasm, however, towards the end of the evening which ended at 9.30 p.m., several adults showed signs of wanting to leave but were persuaded to stay. Many of the smaller boys were obviously over-excited and needed some disciplining at times, although the keynote of the whole evening was its informality and homeliness.

In contrast, the *Siyum Ha-Torah* was a much more elaborate affair. A formal invitation to attend was extended to the whole Melbourne Jewish Community through a large advertisement in the Jewish press, as well as in a circular to parents of boys at the school. The celebration, held on a Sunday morning, was very well attended and resulted in a packed, excited *shul*. When I arrived, there was the usual jam of people in the foyer and outside. Several rabbis bustled around importantly in obvious excitement. The Lubavitchers were dressed in their *kaftans* and *gartels*. Other men wore either semi-formal or business suits. Children and women also wore semi-formal clothing. The 'smart' appearance associated with *Shabbos* was not so evident at the *Siyum*.

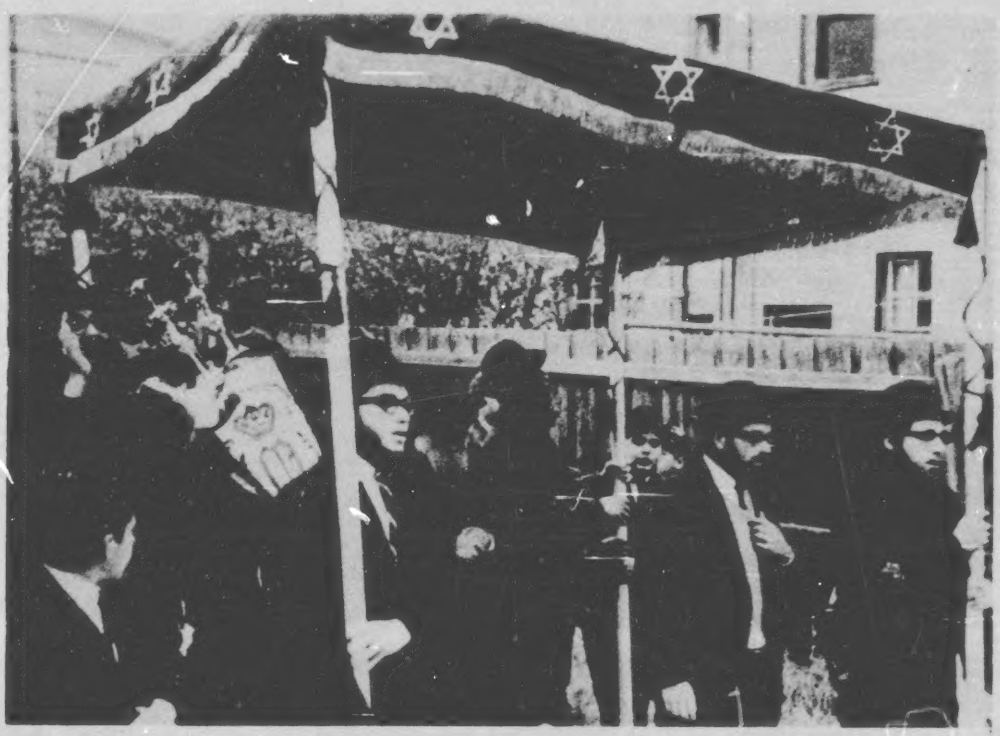
Inside the main hall, a crowd surged around the rear table where the bursar was selling silken lapel badges for ten dollars and eighteen dollars a letter to those who wished to have them ritually inscribed in the new Scroll. They were printed in blue on a silver background. A senior boy came up and welcomed me. He had two letters pinned to his lapel. One was in memory of his uncle who died in a concentration camp, he informed me, the other was for himself. Throughout the hall there was an air of barely suppressed excitement and happiness. People surged around, fathers carrying little sons or daughters.

After much shouting in Yiddish and gesticulating, two Lubavitcher rabbis managed to shepherd everybody into the hall. We all sat down or stood around gossiping, or just waiting. The women in the balcony pulled back the curtains, and peered keenly down at the assembled men, waving to acquaintances or relatives. It would be difficult for anything happening in the hall that would not be noted immediately, relayed to others and discussed with animation.

We all stood as the Ark was opened by the rabbi, and all the Scrolls taken out to be cradled lovingly in the arms of other rabbis. It is traditional at a *Siyum* that these Scrolls are taken out to meet the new Scroll and accompany it back so that it should not feel lonely. As they were processed through the hall, men pressed forward to kiss or touch them reverently. Children were lifted up to see the Scrolls, and some were held forward so they too could touch them. The excitement level increased, and many men moved towards the doors of the main hall, leaving their seats to get a position in the centre aisle.



A circle of dancing Lubavitchers welcomes a *Sefer Torah*.



The new *Sefer Torah* is carried towards the *shul*.

Chassidic chanting and the sound of a violin accompanied by an accordian were heard from outside. Through the doorway came a group clustered closely around a maroon and gold canopy, under which moved a rabbi cradling the new Scroll in his arms. Four Lubavitcher rabbis held the thick, banded white and red poles supporting the canopy. Grouped around the carrier of the new Scroll were other rabbis carrying the old Scrolls. Boys in school uniform, young Lubavitcher rabbis and Talmudical students were packed in a tight circle around those carrying the canopy and Scrolls, each with his hands on the shoulders of the one in front. All kept time in a fast but rhythmic jogging step to the chanting and mazurka-like tempo of the musical instruments. The violinist preceded the group playing energetically. Dressed in velvet coat and velvet *yarmelkeh* he presented a timeless picture that might well have been taken from life in an East European *shtetl*.[13]

Gradually the whole group trotted the Scroll to the *bimah*. As they proceeded, the Chassidic chanting and clapping were taken up by others in the hall. On reaching the *bimah*, the four poles were placed in sockets so that the canopy covered the platform. Underneath, all was great bustle and excitement as rabbis mounted the steps to cluster around the Scroll. By this time the *bimah* was very crowded. Fathers held children above their heads to watch what was happening as the wrappings were carefully unfastened, and rabbis bent over it to examine the Scroll.

After a short prayer intoned from the *bimah*, the rabbi addressed the audience mostly in Yiddish, but occasionally translated his comments into English.[14] A tall, dominating figure in front of the *parokhet*, he spoke with passionate intensity, punctuating his comment with dramatic gestures, clenched fists shaking or a finger stabbing the air at points of emphasis. This day the community welcomed into the *shul* a new *Torah* especially written in Israel. The Talmud tells us to 'write a *Sefer Torah*' but this is not the culminating achievement. We do more than this. The high point of writing a *Torah* is that it be used to teach Jewish children, and the *Torah* must never be forgotten. In carrying out the ceremony, the community wants to see that all parents make sure that their children learn the *Torah* as the only real way of life.

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[13] The almost self-contained small, Jewish town which existed in Eastern Europe prior to the Nazi holocaust.

Several years ago there was a tragedy when the old *shul* had been burned down and all its Scrolls destroyed. But if we recall this, we must also recall that thousands of *Torahs* are being 'destroyed' in our homes unless their study is actively pursued. *Torah* pervades the whole atmosphere of our lives, including the home. According to Talmud, the rabbi said, every Jew is represented in the *Torah* by a letter, but very few are given the chance of ever learning *Torah*. Such opportunities as there are should not be lost by anyone. We should also recall that one could participate in the *Torah* by having a letter inscribed. This is a great *mitzvah*.

The rabbi's concluding remark provoked a rush of people to the *bimah*, with men and boys craning their heads to watch the careful inscription of letters by the scribe. So many small boys tried to get onto the *bimah* that the rabbi had to call out in a more colloquial style than his speech: 'Now you kids, get back down out of it and let us have more room'. Obviously this was badly needed if the scribe was to write

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[14] Compiled from fieldnotes and a report in *The Australian Jewish News*.

The scribe writes new letters to complete the new *Sefer Torah*, while members of the congregation look on.

each letter without making a mistake, which would have been a catastrophe. Considerable ritual responsibility lay on his shoulders. He used a snowy white quill pen, and inscribed each letter with meticulous care to complete the *Sefer Torah*. Rabbis stood beside him watching intently. One had a handful of fresh quills available as needed.

Inscriptions went on for a considerable time. Meanwhile friends were meeting and yarning in the hall, and children ran around everywhere. At last, with all inscriptions completed, the traditional eight circuits of the hall took place with all Scrolls carried in procession. Joyful chanting and handclapping accompanied the procession.

Both instrumental-religious ceremonies clearly call on many aspects of the Great Tradition for the manipulative exhortations to those who participate. These include representatives, but not all, of the school population. A ceremony I did not witness took place in the school hall prior to *Pesach* in 1974. A brief press report makes it clear that, again, the emphasis lay on using Biblical and Talmudical references to exhort those present to adopt certain attitudes towards current problems in world Jewry and their role as Jews.

The ceremony was a school assembly to mark the break-up for *Pesach*.[15] A fourth Former led the boys in a recital of Chapter Twenty of the Book of Psalms (*Tehillim*) for the welfare of Soviet Jewry. He was followed by a third Former, who delivered a speech on unity and fellowship. A fifth Form boy, known for his personal piety, spoke on the self-sacrifice of Jews which brought about their Exodus from Egypt - the historical basis of the *Pesach* Festival. This, he concluded, would also bring true and everlasting redemption. The rabbi commented that love of a fellow Jew

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[15] *The Australian Jewish News*, April 24, 1970.

(*Ahavas Yisroel*) was also meant in a physical sense. The boys should remember that doing a favour for a Jew was included in the *Mitsvah* of *Ahavas Yisroel*.

(4) Expressive-secular ceremonies

(a) The programme

Three major expressive-secular ceremonies occurred during the year. In chronological order they were a ceremony at which prefects were formally inducted and a well-respected member of staff officially farewelled, a ceremony marking a visit by Dr Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress, and the school's Speech Night. The first two were held in the dining room adjoining the main hall of the *shul*. The last took place in the small recreation hall with stage facilities, attached to an old people's home some miles from the school.

(b) Content of ceremonies

All the ceremonies were associated more with the Academic than the Great Tradition though, as will be apparent, considerable overlap of the two occurred. Opportunities for holding this type of collective ritual relating to school life are created yearly, as schools are places in which major discontinuities occur for pupils and staff. Examinations and tests mark the completion of one phase of work and transition to the next. Cohorts of senior pupils leave at the end of the year, teachers retire, or transfer to other schools. At the start of the year a fresh cohort of junior pupils arrives, and all Grades move up in seniority. Some pupils change status by becoming prefects; some teachers assume added responsibilities, new members of staff join the school. During the year important persons visit schools and address pupils. Routine is thereby disturbed, especially if the visit is used as an occasion to grant a school holiday.

Discontinuities are collectively celebrated, and include, for instance, rituals of induction (prefects), welcome (new staff), farewell (old staff), prowess (Speech Night). The ceremonies at which these take place are important opportunities for those in authority to make ritual expression of the major values of the school, its attitudes towards social and world problems, its role in education, and the desired conduct and norms it expects of those attending it. Such rituals are consensual and cohesive (Bernstein *et al*, 1966: 160). They serve to bind together staff and pupils in the form of a moral community with collective identity based on shared values. An important component in ceremonial is reference to the school's history and traditions as measures of what should be done in the present, or should be done in the future. The school song, motto, and maxims of its founders are invoked as tangible reminders of all the school stands for and, hopefully, will continue to foster.

(c) Form of ceremonies

After five weeks of school the first major assembly was held. All boys in the primary and secondary Grades were seated in class groups, together with their teachers to maintain discipline. At a long white table facing the boys sat the Principal, President of the School Council, a representative of the Old Boys Association, the President of the Ladies' Committee, and the guest of honour - the master who had left the school at the end of the year and who was now being formally farewelled. The senior master acted as master of ceremonies.

The apparent rarity of assemblies was underlined by the senior master, who opened proceedings by complimenting the boys on their behaviour. They were indeed worthy of the school. His brief introductory speech about the function of the ceremony was liberally interspersed by anecdotal references to the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Hebrew terms and Talmudic sayings on the merits of the type of education the school exists to promulgate.

The President of Council followed, and stressed two great values the school strives to maintain - the value of secular learning for future careers and the broad base on which it should be maintained. This was the school's programme of Orthodox religious studies, which would equip the boys to go into the future as good Jews and fathers. They should never forget their Jewish heritage. Through it they would be able to resist the obviously decaying morality and temptations of this day and age, especially in the wider society and at university. The President then announced the names of the new prefects and associate prefects, and complimented them on being selected to maintain the standards of the school.

The Principal's speech expressed basically similar sentiments to those of the President of Council. He also referred to the Jewish tradition of wishing departing friends 'plenty of *naches*' a term I was to hear at similar farewell ceremonies for members of staff during the year.[16] He also wished the teacher long life, and stressed that his deeply religious values had contributed greatly to the school, and would help him attain longevity.

A similar blend of informality, Jewish folk style, and anecdotal speeches characterized the much more important ceremony to welcome Dr Nahum Goldmann during the last weeks in the school year. The official gathering took place in the dining hall, with all boys, staff, the Principal,

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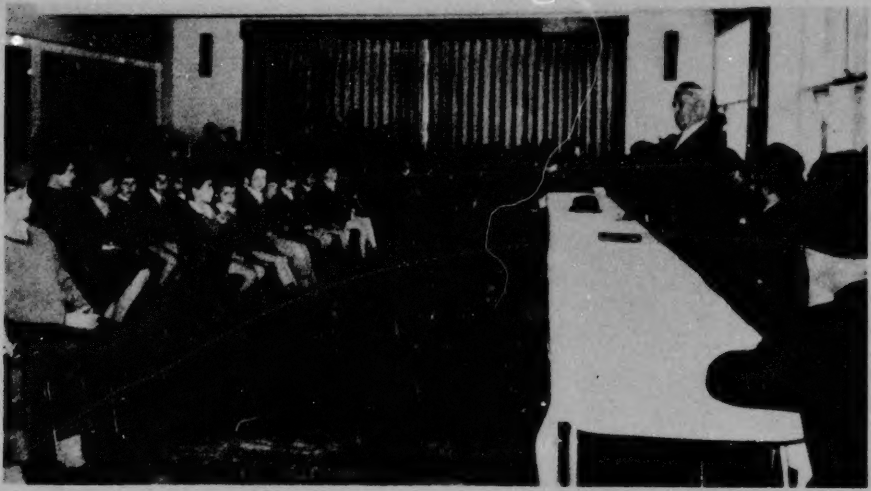
[16] *Naches* (Yidd.) - used here in the sense of psychological reward or gratification. More usually employed to refer to the proud pleasure or joy gained from the achievements of a child.

Dr. Goldmann, guests and rabbis visit
a primary Grade in the girls school.



Dr. Goldmann addresses the assembled School.

and distinguished guests present. A welcoming speech from one of the fourth Form students referred to the school's scholastic record and function as a centre of scholarship in Judaism, particularly at the Rabbinical College which is unique in Australia. If the school can produce boys who will bring a spark of *Yiddishkeit* to a world which is slowly drifting away, he stated, then its founders will have been successful.[17]

In his reply, Dr Goldmann said that the school was one of the great miracles of Jewish existence. It was an inspiring moment for him to see such an institution providing a full education steeped in the great traditions of the Jewish religion. He called upon the students to retain their solidarity with other Jewish communities, and with the Jewish past. Without unity with the past, he stated, there could be no Jewish future.

Following another song from the choir, the official party left for a brief tour of the school. It visited the adjoining girls school and the *Yeshivah Gedolah* where Talmudic students were hard at work.

The final major expressive-secular ceremony for the year took place soon after on a Wednesday evening during the *Chanukah* period. Speech Night is a traditional ending to the year in many educational establishments, and the school was no exception. In the previous weeks, students had been practising hard for their display items. The choir and drama group - both innovations during the latter part of the year - had been particularly active.

Proceedings in the hall took place before an audience of parents and boys from the school. No order was maintained in seating, and it was noticeable how casually people drifted in and out, scraped chairs noisily, or carried on obtrusive gossip prior to and even during some items. Also surprising was the number of men who wore neither a hat nor *yarmelkeh*. Children ran to and fro, adding to the almost continuous undercurrent of murmur and noise throughout the whole evening.

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[17] *Yiddishkeit* (Yidd.) 'Jewishness'; the Jewish way of life as expressed in the practices of the traditional Jewish religion and its customs.

Before the actual Speech Night ceremony began, the Principal called the audience to some semblance of order, and a small boy stepped forward to light five of the eight candles on a small *menorah* standing on the right-hand corner of the stage. He lit the *shammas* candle first, from which he proceeded to light the others.[18] As he did so he intoned the accompanying ritual blessing in Hebrew. Scattered 'Amens' from the audience echoed his recital.

Following a number of folk songs in Hebrew and dramatic items, a sixth Form student gave the first speech on behalf of the matriculants using the by now familiar dramatic, oratorical style with frequent references to Talmud and Bible in English and Hebrew. The school is of a special kind in which secular education is combined harmoniously with a thorough Jewish education. Such preparation had been of considerable success in leading to *Yiddishkeit*, producing Jews able to counter the great danger of assimilation which threatens the Jewish community.

But what is, and how do we measure, success came the question in Talmudic style. In worldly terms, passing examinations, winning honours and scholarships, entering universities and technical colleges, and obtaining degrees and diplomas students had been highly successful. But 'success' can also be defined in terms of students' integrity, character and honesty - in short, *Menchlekeit.*[19] Thus, apart from a first-class secular education, the school also aims to convey to its students the message of how to conduct one's life in a proper Jewish manner.

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[18] The additional candle attached to the *menorah* from which are kindled the other candles during *Chanukah*.

To be a Jew, and lead a life compatible with the traditions of Judaism, the speaker went on, needs a certain strength of character, a purposeful direction, and depth of understanding of the real values of Judaism. However it is not sufficient to get an insight into Jewish history, or obtain knowledge of religious laws (*Dinim*) and Bible. At the school this is combined with gaining an appreciation of *Gemara*, Rashi, *Tosaphot*, *Ramban* and other commentaries.[20] The aim is to arouse a yearning to search for future knowledge, and to combine this knowledge with practice.

The following speaker's comments also stressed the value of the training in *Torah* boys had received. So great had this been that when two or more boys sat down to discuss *Torah*, the spirit of holiness was with them at that time. *Torah* would be taken out into the world. More important, some boys would be returning for a year's higher study in the *Yeshivah Gedolah.* This last remark drew spontaneous and warm applause from the audience. A long anecdote followed in typical question, answer, question style likening *Torah* to the oil used to fill the *menorah* in Biblical times. Each boy would take out into the world a portion of the 'oil' of the *Torah.* Even a little would be sufficient to keep them going through life as observant Jews.

Both speeches were a mixture of secular and religious themes. The former, in particular, referred to the dual aims of the school and the criticism it faced from some in the Jewish community for trying to do the two things, and putting religious studies before secular studies. The latter had not suffered, as the students' university results spoke for themselves.

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[19] *Menchlekeit* (Yidd.) - behaviour characteristic of an upright, honourable, decent person.

[20] *Ramban* - Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides).

Following another group of items, which, like the first, reflected both Jewish and non-Jewish influences, the Speech Night concluded. Although greatly different in style from those that other Independent schools organize, it nevertheless contained all the elements of an expressive-secular ceremony: stress on the values of the school, and their accompanying attitudes and goals. It had also been an occasion for the school to promote itself and its ideology to the public.

(5) Instrumental-secular ceremonies

(a) The programme

Ceremonies of the type cited above comprise relatively large-scale, public, collective rituals with broad consensual and cohesive functions. The two instrumental-secular ceremonies described below were also public, but smaller in scale, and more diffuse than truly collective in that they took place on a number of occasions and at various locations in the school. They were the parent-teacher evenings held separately for primary, Lower-Middle, and senior Grades, and the school Open Day. They took place during the middle and end of the year respectively.

(b) Content of ceremonies

The ideological basis of instrumental-secular ceremonies is strictly concerned with the school's pedagogical functions. Their ideal aim is to promote good public relations between parents and school staff in the interests of both pupils and school. Meetings between parents and teachers are premissed on the assumption that a discussion of a boy's problems and possible solutions for them will improve what is being done for his vocational training. Such meetings are also opportunities for teachers to explain modern teaching methods, clarify the reasons for setting, or omitting to set, homework, and assure parents of the effectiveness of educational practices used at the school.

Open Days enable parents and others to see the school 'on show'. Work accomplished during the year is displayed, preference being given to items such as art and craft, maps and diagrams, project folders, which can be pinned up or put out to create a dramatic visual show. Parents are also able to sit in on lessons to see classes at work, or watch demonstrations in such subjects as drama, sport, music, science.

In both types of teacher-parent interaction there are clear manipulative elements. Either individually at face-to-face meetings, or collectively as a body, there is the tacit understanding among teachers that while their work may be criticised up to a point, beyond this they can defend their actions on the grounds of professional competence and training not possessed by the parents. Interviews are highly ritualized to provide room for a teacher to manouevre defensively if he encounters parental criticism. Displays of work and demonstrations are often deliberately contrived, not necessarily to deceive parents, but at least to present the best side of school work by concealing the less desirable and humdrum. Artificiality and a certain hypocrisy are unacknowledged ideological corollaries of many parent-teacher encounters. This rarely escapes the notice of any pupils who may be present.

(c) Form of ceremonies

The parent-teacher interviews in which I was involved are described below, and need not be elaborated here.[21] Before we settled down to meet teachers individually one of the senior masters gave a short speech of welcome in which he stressed the essential aim of the evening -

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[21] See Chapter 10 for a detailed description.

to discuss children's progress on an individual basis. To enable all parents to get an opportunity, he said, it would be appreciated if interviews could be limited to about ten minutes each. After a further expression of pleasure and thanks on behalf of the school that so many parents had turned up, we started our interviewing.

I quickly settled into the familiar pattern of introduction and greeting rituals, diagnostic probing to establish the parents' main concern, prognoses and reassurance that remedial measures would be undertaken, and farewell rituals. After some fifteen years of such interviews in a variety of schools, my style had become well established, almost habitual. It was aided by the brief notes I had prepared about each boy in cases where I had been told his parents would attend, a V.U.S.E.B. Handbook, and a large diary for consultation if necessary, and the notes I jotted down as each interview progressed. These accessories were not only functional in helping to keep the interview focussed on the job in hand, and in conveying some impression of efficiency and preparation, but also provided important avenues for defensive and displacement activities should the parents become too critical of myself, my colleagues or the school. However, apart from the few examples described below, parents were genuinely concerned about their boy's vocational prospects. Digressions and major criticisms were uncommon, as generally the 'rules of the game' were adhered to on both sides, and each little ceremony proceeded relatively smoothly.

A visit by a group of parents to my fourth Form geography class during the Open Day was an occasion for a more conscious display. To an extent, I was caught by surprise when some ten parents filed in, although the classroom looked attractive as I had pinned up a lot of colourful display material a few days before. We were in the middle of individual work with its characteristic quiet buzz of 'work noise', while I went around helping boys when asked.

This type of lesson, while educationally desirable, would not be too impressive for parents more accustomed to didactic methods I thought, and took advantage of a boy's question to stop the individual work and give a general answer for the benefit of all - parents included. Through blackboard, chalk sketches and a rapid question-and-answer technique, the lesson livened up with the boys responding well. At times we almost achieved a form of secular *pilpul*, and several parents smiled openly as the dialectical exchange went on.

As unexpectedly as they had entered they all filed out, presumably having seen what they had come to see. The boys and I grinned at each other. We all knew what we had been up to - playing the 'rules of the game'.

(6) Summary

The four kinds of ceremonies that have been discussed provide important sources of learning experiences for the boys at the school. The two types of religiously oriented ceremonies make virtually no concession to secular influences - indeed any formal duality between sacred and secular in Orthodox Judaism would be disputed. Under any other circumstances many of the rituals, which have been described, would be anachronistic in the extreme. However, within the interaction setting of a deeply Orthodox *shul* functioning as the hub of its related congregation, they are quite appropriate and even logical. Equally important, they provide forms of learning under emotional, affect-laden and highly ritualized ceremonial conditions. As Dawson has suggested (1969b: 109) such conditions generate values and attitudes which become firmly held, and are most resistant to change.

Religious overtones are characteristic of many secular-expressive ceremonies, in their emphasis on *Yiddishkeit* and the religious basis for living. Here a sacred-secular duality is more expressly acknowledged, and the two functions of the school are seen as closely related. It is in the rituals of the instrumental-expressive ceremonies that the secular is emphasized often at the expense of the sacred. But the occasions for this type of ceremony are relatively limited, and directly touch on the least number of boys. We can tentatively conclude that, while both sacred and secular learning experiences are available in ceremonial interaction settings, those appropriate to the Great Tradition of Judaism clearly outweigh those of the Academic tradition.

CHAPTER 9

THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

Taking a commonsense view of education, one thinks of the formal curriculum in a school as the major source of knowledge gained by pupils. They act as relatively passive recipients of ready-made information communicated by the teachers. The shortcomings of such a view have been demonstrated by such writers as Jackson (1968), Keddie (1971), Postman and Weingartner (1971), among others, and are taken up in Chapter 17 of this thesis, in which the concept of the countervailing curriculum is developed. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I adhere to the commonsense view, and examine how knowledge relating to the two Traditions is formally organized within the school.

(1) Types of knowledge

The selection of culturally valued knowledge is part of the curriculum, which also includes other learning experiences available to pupils. Musgrave has suggested (1973: 7) that the stock of knowledge offered by most schools can be divided into two parts. 'There is, first, academic knowledge which is largely in written form and relates to learned disciplines'. The second part is 'behavioural knowledge, which includes knowledge of the behavioural norms of the society'. Lubavitcher School represents two 'societies', and it is doubtful whether a simple dichotomy of the type Musgrave proposes adequately accounts for the stock of knowledge it communicates to the boys. A similar reservation must be held about comparable religious or denominational schools, and suggests that at least one additional category is required.

Academic knowledge seems logically related to the 'secular' function of such schools, that is, the preparation of their clientele for future occupations in society. Musgrave notes that 'it is preserved and largely added to by educational institutions at the tertiary level, or research institutions of a similar status' (loc. cit.). This is a characteristic which was noted about the development of the Academic Tradition in Australia, and is an additional justification for equating academic knowledge with the largely secular domain of the school.

There is, however, a body of knowledge that cannot be thought of as academic, in the sense used by Musgrave. This is the corpus of religious literature. Agreed, it is in written form, and is preserved. But in the case of Lubavitcher School, at least, the notion that it could be added to, let alone modified, by a tertiary institution would be heretical. It is transcendentally derived or divinely revealed knowledge, and is immutable, in contrast to the empirical derivation of the knowledge in the Academic Tradition. Although it plays an important part in determining the behavioural knowledge adopted by the school, the body of religious knowledge can be considered separately, from the point of view of its derivation, as *super-empirical knowledge.* It is logically related to the Great Tradition and the 'sacred' function of the school. This is the production of Orthodox Jews.

Accordingly, three categories of knowledge are adopted for analytical purposes: academic knowledge, super-empirical knowledge, and behavioural knowledge. The last is concerned with what Berger and Luckmann refer to as 'recipe knowledge' (1971: 56-7). This is 'pragmatically necessary knowledge', and used for 'the mastery of routine problems'. As Musgrave notes (1973: 13), because of the situational nature of behaviour 'educational organizations need to focus their teaching upon the values underlying the respectability they are trying to inculcate'.

(2) Academic knowledge

The selection of knowledge offered by the secondary school through the formal curriculum is narrow and non-vocational. Enrichment, non-academic subjects such as Music, Speech, and Drama, are not offered. Even Art is only offered in the first and second Forms, but is dropped thereafter.

(a) Subjects in the Lower and Middle School

Similar subjects are offered to first and second Forms: Hebrew (3), English (6), Mathematics (6), Science (3), Art (2), History (3), French (2), Geography (3). The figures in brackets refer to the number of forty minute periods allocated to each subject. English and Mathematics get twice as much time as any other academic subject. Art and French get least time, and are not considered by the boys or staff as 'real' subjects, but rather token bits of more liberal studies. The latter owes its existence as much to the personal enthusiasm of the teacher in charge as to the official policy of the school.

The subjects available at third Form are basically similar to those in the lower Forms but show an increased academic bias. Art and French are dropped, their place being taken by Commercial Practice. Hebrew is now the only foreign language taken. The same number and distribution of periods are allocated to subjects as in first and second Forms.

Fourth form takes the same subjects but the amount of time allocated to some is increased in line with recommendations in the V.U.S.E.B. Handbook: Hebrew (4), English (6), Mathematics (6), Science (4), Geography (4), History (4), Commercial Practice (4). This increases the demand on time by four periods so that boys work later in the afternoon and have two science periods on Sunday morning.

(b) The Senior School curricula

The organization of knowledge in the two senior Forms of the school shows an even greater academic bias than lower Forms. Every endeavour is made to provide opportunities for boys to take either science or humanities groupings of subjects. Fifth Form offers Hebrew, English, Mathematics 1, Mathematics 2, Physics, Chemistry, Economics, Social Studies, Geography, Modern History, Commercial Principles, Accounting. These are significantly reduced in sixth Form, with a science bias quite apparent, to English Expression, Applied Mathematics, General Mathematics, Pure Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Australian History, Economics, Social Studies. All subjects in fifth Form are allocated five periods, with six periods in sixth Form.

The significant omission at the latter level is Hebrew. The standard attained by the boys is so high, due to constant contact with the subject in both secular and religious studies, that they are able to take the matriculation examination if desired on the basis of their work up to and including the fifth Form.

(3) The role of examinations in the curriculum

(a) Internal examinations and tests

Examinations at all levels are the rule rather than the exception in the school. Time is allocated at the end of each Term for the first four Forms to sit internally set and marked examinations or tests. Some teachers augment these results by cumulative tests during the Term. Although such a system can provide teachers with opportunity to devise their own courses, the majority at the school appear to follow those suggested by the V.U.S.E.B. These also incorporate textbooks which, it is well recognized, have been written with such courses in mind. By teaching the textbook one teaches the course but innovation, creativity and experimentation are thereby inhibited.

My own attempts to move outside such constraints by devising special geography courses for third and fourth Forms were received uneasily by the boys. Compared with last year's teacher they were so different. Besides, he only required them to get one textbook whereas at fourth Form I wanted the boys to have three. Why was this necessary? ... and so on.

(b) External examinations

Besides the examinations set within the school, in fourth Form, boys are eligible to sit for the Commonwealth Secondary Scholarship Examination (C.S.S.E.). This is set and marked on an Australia-wide basis by officers of the Australian Council for Educational Research (A.C.E.R.) on behalf of the Commonwealth Department of Education and Science. The A.C.E.R. is a Melbourne-based independent organization with test development as one of its chief activities.

The examination consists of four sections or papers testing Written Expression, Comprehension and Interpretation (Sciences), Quantitative Thinking, Comprehension and Interpretation (Humanities). These papers are spread over two days in late July. The examination is highly competitive, and sets out to test academic ability and skills rather than the possession of knowledge. As the memorandum to heads of schools makes clear, the examination is intended to be a predictor of the pupil's 'likely success in matriculation studies two years hence'.[1] Scholarships for the next two years of education are offered in terms of the order of merit in the examination (Fensham, 1970: 244). Success in obtaining a scholarship under such competitive and searching conditions thus not only earns economic rewards in terms of support for further schooling, but also gains considerable kudos for the successful pupil and his school.

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[1] *Memorandum for Heads of Schools: Commonwealth Secondary Scholarships: School Ratings for 1969 Awards* - Suggested Method of Rating Pupils (Education Department, Melbourne, 30th June 1969), p. 1.

At the fifth Form level all academic work is oriented towards the School Leaving Certificate Examination at the end of the year in late October and early November. This is taken externally, and constitutes a terminal qualification for those leaving school. More commonly, however, it is a necessary step towards proceeding to the sixth Form year and Higher School Certificate (H.S.C.), formerly the Matriculation Examination. To enter for this a pass in at least four subjects of the School Leaving examination is required. However, most candidates prepare for five or six subjects, as English must be passed as one of the four subjects needed to enter for the Higher School Certificate Examination. It must also be passed at H.S.C. level, along with three other subjects, for the candidate to qualify for consideration for a place at university.[2]

The School Leaving examination thus assumes a much greater importance than the kinds of examinations in fourth Form. It is firstly a desirable terminal qualification for employment when a student leaves school. A candidate must obtain four subjects arranged in specified groupings before proceeding to the Higher School Certificate year, and both certificates are needed as one of the pre-requisites for university selection.[3] It presents a formidable hurdle for boys to take.

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[2] *Handbook of Directions and Prescriptions for 1969 - School Leaving Examination, Matriculation Examination* (The Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board, Melbourne), pp. 6-19.

[3] The candidate must have passed in English, a branch of mathematics or of science, a humanity subject, ibid., p. 13.

In the school, this pressure is compounded by the difficulty some boys have with English, when Yiddish or another language is spoken at home. The school also presents its candidates to the final examination externally at unfamiliar examination centres under the V.U.S.E.B. Grade B system. It has not received Grade A accreditation to set and award its own internally examined Leaving Certificate. At least in the fourth Form, examinations apart from the C.S.S.E. are set and marked internally by staff at the school, thus partially reducing the strain.

At the fifth Form level examinations are of three types. Internally set and marked examinations take place at the end of first Term. There are no formal examinations in second Term, though progress tests are set. However, very early in third Term, fifth and sixth Forms take the optional practice examination set by independent, external examiners under the auspices of the Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria (I.A.R.T.V.). This is an independent organization concerned mainly with placing staff in non-government, registered (Independent) schools. It maintains its own teacher training college in Melbourne, and organizes the setting and distribution of the practice School Leaving and H.S.C. tests held in late September to early October. Although constructed and published by external examiners, these are sat for in the schools and marked by members of school staffs. Alternatively, schools can set their own examinations for the end of second Term.

The main School Leaving examination papers are set by panels of examiners appointed for every subject by the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board, in collaboration with the various subject Standing Committees of the Board. The examination is taken at special centres throughout the State. These are in public halls, large schools with facilities which have been approved by the Board to act as centres, and in the case of Melbourne at the large Exhibition Buildings in the city itself.

Similar administrative conditions operate for the H.S.C. examination, though for this both the preparation and supervision are much more stringent. The chairman of each examiners panel must be from a tertiary education organization, and not from a school which does not present for the external examination, as may be the case for the School Leaving. The H.S.C. examination is used for university selection, and high merit grades may qualify for the award of a Commonwealth Tertiary Scholarship, which assists with university fees and cost of books, and provides towards maintenance of the recipient. The H.S.C. is also a terminal qualification for the school leaver.

With such rewards at stake, competition for success in the H.S.C. examination is intense. Pupils usually take at least four subjects - the minimum required for a pass at one sitting - while many attempt five. For university selection purposes, results in the best three are counted, excluding English Expression for which grades are not awarded, the subject being marked on a pass/fail basis.[4]

In contrast to the gradually increasing severity and external character of the assessment from fourth to sixth Forms, that in the Middle and Lower School is far less rigorous. Whereas preparation for the C.S.S.E., the School Leaving and H.S.C. examinations imparts direction and motivation to both teaching and learning, work at the lower levels has only the incentive of being preparation for transition upwards to the next level. There are no similar rewards to compete for as in the three senior Forms. However, the dominance of the higher levels over the direction of the curriculum is very apparent, and confirms its pronounced academic orientation and adherence to the Academic Tradition.

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[4] This was the case in 1969. In 1971 the V.U.S.E.B. introduced the grading system for English Expression. Note - further modifications to the external examination system have occurred since this date.

(4) Super-empirical knowledge

(a) The basis of the curriculum content[5]

Three closely related and interdependent bodies of knowledge comprise the formal curriculum of the Great Tradition. They are the Bible (*TeNaCh*), Talmud and *Schulchan Aruch*. *TeNaCh* - a contraction of three words - comprises the *Torah* ('Instruction', 'Law'), *Nevi'im* ('Prophets'), and *Ketuvim* ('Writings' or 'Hagiographa'). The first is made up of the first five books of the Bible (*Chumash* or Pentateuch), the second comprises the Early Prophets (*Nevi'im Rishonim*) and Later Prophets (*Nevi'im Aharonim*), the third is a collection of miscellaneous books of historical, devotional, poetic, dramatic and narrative literature. This comprises Psalms, Proverbs, and the Book of Job, together with the Five Scrolls (*Megilloth*), the most important of which is the Scroll of Esther read at *Purim*.

Torah is the foundation of religious and ethical instruction. For centuries it furnished the principal curriculum of Jewish education in which the child began his schooling, and returned to again and again. To the Orthodox Jew it is the supreme and unquestioned authority in religious life. Together with *Nevi'im* and *Ketuvim* it furnishes the spiritual roots of Talmud. This embraces both Mishnah and *Gemara*, the former being stressed in the curriculum at the school. Mishnah can be thought of as a textbook rather than a code, and gives the essence of the Oral Law and ancient tradition as it was known to the sages during the period culminating in the compilation of the final authorized version c. 220 C.E. (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 373). Talmud is, in effect, a body of jurisprudence fulfilling the injunction of the Men of the Great Assembly to 'make a fence around the *Torah*' (*Avot* 1.1). Not surprisingly every page of Talmud is filled with citations from *Chumash*.

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[5] I am indebted to the Director of Religious Instruction at the school for the information on which this section is based, though the comments and interpretation in 4(c) are entirely mine.

The *Schulchan Aruch* of Joseph Caro first published in 1565 is a convenient codification of Jewish law and practice derived from Talmud. It is divided into four parts. *Orach Chayyim* deals with the ritual obligations of daily life from waking to sundown. *Yoreh Deah* deals mainly with dietary and ritual laws including mourning, vows, respect to parents, charity, etc. *Even ha-Ezer* deals with personal status, marriage, divorce, etc., and *Choshen Mishpat* embraces the entire body of Jewish civil law as far as it is applicable under Diaspora conditions (ibid., 358-9). Subsequent writers further condensed this codification, and the *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch* is also a basis for the curriculum, especially for the boys in junior Forms.

(b) Organization of religious instruction

Boys start Talmud (Mishnah) in Grade 5 by tradition at *Baba Metziah* (Aramaic 'The Middle Gate'), dealing with small portions of the easier tractates concerning responsibility for property, and accepting liability for damage. At this level, possibly no more than one or two pages are considered during the entire year. Study of Mishnah continues in greater depth, and deals with more content, as a boy proceeds up the school. He tackles sections from different tractates in higher Forms, such as those dealing with marriage, divorce, prohibitions on *Shabbos*. In senior Forms, for instance, modern technological developments such as having to turn on a light switch are explored in relation to the traditional prohibition of work on *Shabbos*. By sixth Form, boys may be tackling some twenty pages of Talmud during the year at much deeper levels of interpretation and sophistication. Starting at *Baba Metziah* seven or eight tractates are dealt with in all, and the progress of the boys is geared to those tractates studied in much greater depth at the *Yeshivah Gedolah* so that the boys can receive coaching and personal help after school from the rabbinical students.

The study of *Chumash* with commentary by Rashi starts in Grades 1 and 2 with Genesis, and proceeds systematically through the subsequent books so that by Forms 5 and 6 all Five Books have been completed, and study beings afresh from the beginning but at greater depth. Some consideration is given to other sections of *TeNaCh*, especially *Nevi'im*, but is necessarily restricted due to lack of time. However, by the end of their schooling the boys will have covered the majority of *TeNaCh*.

Study of the *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch* in lower Grades and the unabridged version in higher Forms takes place mainly before each Festival. Considerable time is devoted to studying its ritual laws and ceremonial observances. However the *Schulchan Aruch* is studied on other occasions though, in comparison with *TeNaCh* and Talmud, less time is devoted to it.

A feature of the curriculum for the secondary Forms is the gradual introduction of Chassidic philosophy in conjunction with studies of *Chumash*. In Forms 1 and 2 teachers might explain Chassidic interpretations of the weekly portion of *Torah* once or twice a week. Instruction would be given orally with pupils taking notes. No formal textbook of Chassidus is used. However by Form 5 pupils are able to start tackling the main philosophy in some depth, and are introduced to some parts of *Tanya* which is the basis of the Lubavitcher (*Chabad*) philosophy. Once again, lack of time limits what can be tackled.

How traditional are these elements of the curriculum? In origin they are very ancient, dating back to Biblical times and the post-Biblical period during which the Oral Law was gradually compiled and finally approved in its authorized form. We can gain some insight into Lubavitcher notions of what traditional Orthodox Jewish education should be from an account of the controversy between Rabbi Menachem Mendel, the 'Tzemach Tzedek' of the line of *Chabad*-Chassidic tradition (Appendix 4.1), and proponents of the *Haskalah* movement during the five year period from 1845.[6]

In reply to the Russian Bureau of Religions' unacceptable proposals for the curriculum of Hebrew schools, the Tzemach Tzedek made a number of cogent *responsa* in a lengthy pamphlet. Among his many points were the following, in which we can detect the essential roots of the religious programme of the school (Schneersohn, 1962: 71 ff.):

> The words of the Torah are eternal, true, and just. This must be impressed upon the minds and hearts of the pupils at the outset. (*Yoreh Deah* 245, 6: 'One is obliged to teach his son the Written Torah in its entirety ...').
>
> Even the curriculum recently issued for Government schools for Jews explicitly states that first grade children are to study the first books of the Pentateuch and the *Mishnayos* of the Tractate *Shabbos*. In the second grade they are to complete the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Psalms, Proverbs, Esther, *Mishnayos Brochos* and the Orders of Festivals,

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[6] *Haskalah* (Heb.) 'Enlightenment'. The movement among Jews of Eastern Europe in the late 18th-19th centuries to acquire modern European culture and secular knowledge.

> Civil Law, and Sacrifice, Talmud Tractates *Be'a, Succah, Pesachim*, and *Shabbos*, and many sections of the *Shulchan Aruch* (as planned in 1843 by the Commission). The curriculum stipulates all the books of the Bible, Mishna, and Talmud, with no mention of omissions.

In view of the types of religious teaching staff employed at the school and particularly the developments which have taken place since my study, the organization of most Chassidic communities under the Tzemach Tzedek's direction is also of interest. Their religious staff consisted of 'Rabbis, *shochtim*, teachers (who were also charged by the Rabbi with organizing public study group for Mishna, Talmud, *halacha, agada*, and Chassidus), and a *mashpi'ya*. The *mashpi'ya* was a Chassid chosen by the Rabbi to be responsible for Chassidic training, especially of young men and boys' (ibid., p. 60), *viz*. the director of religious studies.

(c) Some comments on methods of instruction

Several features differentiate the formal curriculum of the Great Tradition from that of the Academic Tradition. Firstly, a hierarchical arrangement of subjects Grade by Grade is absent. Progress in the study of *Chumash*, Mishnah and *Schulchan Aruch* is highly individualistic, and depends on the capabilities of the students and interests of the teachers. Thus it is not possible to specify exactly what is studied Grade by Grade. There is a close parallel with East European tradition. 'The general principle of the yeshiva is independence and self-reliance. The program of study allows for infinite variation' (Zborowski & Herzog, 1952: 97-98). Secondly, tradition has had to defer to the demands of secular work and the inroads this makes into pupils' time, energy, and capacity for sustained Jewish studies. For instance, it used to be customary in the traditional *cheder* or elementary school for the study of *Chumash* to commence at Leviticus (ibid., p. 96). This is now skipped and left for older classes, while the younger boys start with Genesis. However, even this is not an invariable procedure and depends on the ability of pupils and the teacher's preferences.

Thirdly, several important pedagogical techniques are employed for all studies. Particularly in higher Forms, boys work individually at Talmud in small groups which rarely exceed four. They also work at their own pace. It is also clear that a form of 'spiral curriculum' operates. A boy may tackle a part of *Chumash* in a junior Grade, progress to other parts as he proceeds through the school, but in senior Forms return to the part he first studied but tackle it at greater depth and rigour. This applies particularly to *Chumash*. In Talmud, on the other hand, though some spiral tendency is apparent, study is a matter of progressing from topic to topic (tractate to tractate) of increasing depth and complexity. Fourthly a great deal of the curriculum emphasizes the acquisition of knowledge (the cognitive domain) and certain skills such as those necessary to sustain a discussion on a passage from Talmud in higher Forms.

(5) Behavioural knowledge

(a) Behavioural norms and values of the Great Tradition

Solomon's description of traditional Jewish education (1973: 174) indicates clearly how closely the school has modelled its programme of religious instruction on traditional practice. It is also the source of the 'ideal' behavioural norms and values that the boys should follow.

> The traditional curriculum of Jewish studies was textbook- and subject-centred, divided into stages based on the study of the Pentateuch, the Mishna, and the Talmud. Whereas intellectual knowledge was the basis of the curriculum, the goals of education included both cognitive and affective objectives, meaning knowledge, behaviour, the acquisition of values, and the training of character.

The assumption is made at the school that learning knowledge of *Torah* will lead to the adoption of the correct behaviours set out therein as the 613 Precepts (Heb. *taryag mitzvot*), or commandments of the Law of Moses. These are subdivided into 248 positive and 365 negative precepts. The concept of *Torah* connotes 'guidance' and 'direction', and implies that knowledge of *Torah* provides an individual with a programme of norms and values to guide both his most private actions and his relationships with the community. Chassidism is, in essence, an ethical and aesthetic interpretation of the divine ideals embodied in the 613 Precepts of Judaism. The elements of Lubavitcher philosophy, to which the boys are exposed, thus have the effect of reinforcing the values and norms learned in their more formal studies of *Torah*.

The dominant theme of behavioural knowledge, insofar as it refers to interpersonal relationships, is the concept of *imitatio Dei*, which is developed in the rabbinical injunction: 'As He is merciful and gracious, so be you merciful and gracious. As He is righteous so be you righteous. As He is holy, strive to be holy' (*Sifre* Deut. 85a). *Imitatio Dei* is a recurrent theme in the Code of Holiness (Lev. 19). However, it is not prescriptive in the sense of compelling a person to ethical behaviour without offering him freedom of choice. It is a basic affirmation of Judaism that man is a creature who makes free ethical choices and decisions for which he alone is responsible. A boy at Lubavitcher School may have the Precepts held up before him as models of behaviour: it is up to him whether to make them part of his 'recipe knowledge', and the basis of forming the typifications of others, which guide his interpersonal relationships.

Behavioural knowledge gained from studying divine Precepts is reinforced by knowledge derived from a variety of animate and inanimate sources in the school. These range from homiletic injunctions given at the various types of ceremonies described in the previous chapter, through comments of lay and religious teaching staff during periods of religious instruction, to precepts contained in literature from the Lubavitcher Rebbe, which is pinned to notice boards and doors in the *shul* and its adjoining rooms. The last commonly refer to the performance of *mitzvot* for an approaching Festival. For instance, during *Purim*, members of the congregation are urged to perform the 'unity *mitzvot*' of sending gifts to friends (Heb. *mishloach manot*) - usually two kinds of sweetmeats - and to the poor, in the form of food or money (Heb. *mattanot la-evyonim*). The *mitzvah* of charity is also stressed in the school, and a monitor comes around each class once a week to collect contributions from boys.

Homiletic injunctions stress a number of themes, which relate to the value of *Yiddishkeit.*[7] This is made even more explicit by the distinction, which speakers or writers make between 'general education knowledge' and Jewish knowledge. The former has only one purpose, namely to acquire skill, but not to acquire character. The latter 'shows us how to live properly in Jewish life'. The objective of the school is to develop *Yiddishkeit*: teaching an aim and direction in life, through Jewish morals and ethics which kindle children's minds. In this way it is hoped that the school will turn out knowledgeable and responsible Jews. Through the high standards of *Yiddishkeit* at the school the boys gain a deep awareness of their religion. The school is a 'banner of *Yiddishkeit*': its intense Yiddish atmosphere is bolstered by harmony between teachers and pupils.

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[7] The following details are compiled from fieldnotes and details in *The Australian Jewish News* at the time of the school's annual appeal for funds.

The study of *Torah* and Jewish education has always been an ideal of the Jewish people. It is necessary for moral living: no one can be pious without knowledge.

Yiddishkeit is also taught through the regular extra-curricular activities some boys follow with the Lubavitcher Youth group. This conducts a variety of camps and outings during some Festivals and the long summer vacation when the school closes. Members of the Lubavitcher Youth group are also examples to others in the earnest way they carry out their religious duties, or help organize activities. Many members have a bustling, 'busy' manner, as if they are self-consciously aware of a 'mission' to perform. The Lubavitcher Youth group also conducts study groups and its own services in the *shul*. The Lubavitcher 'message' is further disseminated by the amount of literature, in the form of leaflets, pamphlets and books, published by the Melbourne Branch of the parent company *Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch*, Inc. of Brooklyn, New York, which is the official arm of the Lubavitcher Movement. Extracts from these publications, together with Yiddish jokes and rabbinical aphorisms even find their way into the 'newspapers', which the Middle School Form produces and duplicates. Lubavitcher Youth also conducts a duplicating service for those who want to obtain extracts from Lubavitcher literature, or copies of other material.

Folk or Jewish ethnic customs are also an important component of *Yiddishkeit*. 'The term has a warm ring for the *Ashkenazi* Jew, denoting the positive aspects of Jewish habits, often of folk origin' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 410). Most of the congregation associated with the school originated from Eastern Europe, and their customs feature during Festivals such as *Purim*, *Simchas Torah* and *Chanukah*. Some date back to medieval times and earlier. Masquerades, fancy dress, and a carnival atmosphere with games (Yidd. *Purim spiel*) occupy boys' attention during *Purim*. Spinning the top (Yidd. *dreidl*) becomes a playground game when *Chanukah* occurs. The Festival of *Lag Ba-Omer*, which occurs between *Pesach* and *Shavuot*, is the occasion for outdoor field games and activities in the parks close to the school. The limited extra-curricular activities include a school choir, which is formed in the months prior to Speech Night, and has a repertoire of Israeli and Jewish folk songs. These are a feature of the relatively rare school assemblies in the dining hall.

(b) Cultic-ceremonial knowledge

A further type of behavioural knowledge relating to the Great Tradition is cultic-ceremonial knowledge concerning the meaning and correct performance of the rituals and *mitzvot*. It is explicitly taught in religious studies through studying *Torah*, Talmud, and *Schulchan Aruch*. When each Festival approaches, some attention is given in class to rehearsing the meaning of its associated rituals, even to the extent of demonstrating the use of the cultic-ceremonial objects involved. Thus, at *Rosh Hashanah* the use of the *shophar* or ram's horn is shown. At *Succos*, the *lulav* and *esrog* feature in lessons. Boys are able to handle these objects, and practise the correct methods of using them.

In addition to these explicit, didactic teaching methods, the school complex as a whole is a source of countless instances of cultic-ceremonial knowledge being learned from the example of others. Ritual behaviour is involved in the frequent ablutions or washing of the hands before meals and prayers. The boys in primary Grades are taken to wash-troughs as a matter of course, and their ablutions are supervised by the teacher. The school secretary tries to ensure that boys wash their hands in the dining hall during lunchtime. The saying of the Blessing and Grace is similarly prescribed.

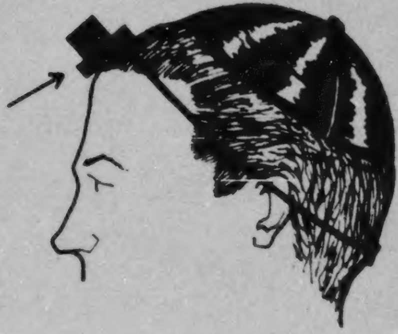
Cultic-ceremonial knowledge is also learned during the regular communal and individual prayers: the correct handling of the *tephillin* and *tallit*; the ritual genuflections and movements; the melodic inflection or *niggun* with which prayers are recited. The Readings of the Law at the Morning Services are opportunities for regular public rehearsal of Judaic norms and values. In addition, many boys perform the *mitzvot* of the *mezuzah* and wearing the *tzitzit* beneath their shirts. They also observe the *kashruth* prohibitions, which are strictly adhered to in the school. The wearing of a cap or *yarmelkeh* at all times is strictly insisted upon by the school. Each boy is thus a source of visible, symbolic reinforcement of the cultic-ceremonial knowledge for his peers.

Some cultic-ceremonial knowledge is visually set out in display material from the Lubavitcher Movement, which periodically conducts campaigns to teach the correct performance of the *mitzvah* of the *mezuzah*, or of the *tephillin*. Literature giving highly detailed instructions is displayed on classroom notice boards, often with an accompanying diagram, as is the case with the sheet showing the correct method of wearing the *tephillin*. The instructions provide an example of the meticulous regard for detailed and exact performance of the *mitzvah* according to the letter of the Law, which is a feature of Lubavitcher Orthodoxy. They are also noteworthy for the injunction laid upon 'every conscientious Jew' to be an active agent in teaching the behavioural knowledge of the *tephillin* to his friends. In this case example is wedded to precept.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PUTTING ON THE TEPHILIN OF THE HEAD

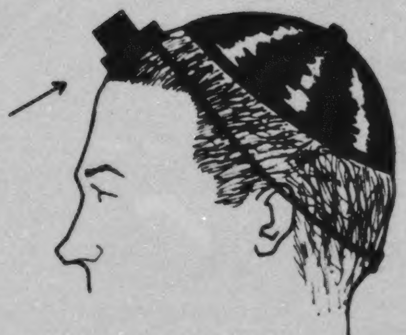
הנחת תפילין

לא יצא



INCORRECT נישט ריכטיג

יצא



CORRECT ריכטיג

Fig. 9.1

> The correct position for the laying of the Tephilin of the head is not further forward than the hairline, above the forehead (*Shulchan Aruch*, ch. 27: 9). Many people err in this prohibition, in the mistaken belief that the upper edge of the Tephilin should be situated only as far back as the hairline. Since the Tephilin are thus placed on the forehead, such people unwittingly transgress Torah-prohibitions; for the entire Tephilin should be situated in such a place which could become bald, that is, with the front edge not further forward than the hairline (*Paragraph 10 of Commentary of Taz on Shulchan Aruch, ch. 27:9*). Every conscientious Jew should therefore warn his friends and inform them in order that they should not err, since, furthermore, the blessing too would be said in vain, as the laying of Tephilin not in their correct position is of no more avail than if they had remained in their bag (*Mishnah Berurah*). Accordingly, the Tephilin strap should be secured tautly around the head.

The ceremonial laws or practical observances (Heb. *mitzvot maasiyot*) basic to cultic-ceremonial knowledge are tangible reminders to each boy that he is an Orthodox Jew, and should behave as such. They are complementary to knowledge of the behavioural norms and values:

> The emphasis upon the importance and validity of ceremonial laws as outward symbols and rituals which in their totality combine to create a specific way of life expressing itself in action is a chief characteristic of traditional Judaism, imposing a discipline whereby fealty to God is expressed by a series of actions apart from any specific theological beliefs or moral code (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 83).

(b) Behavioural norms and values of the Academic Tradition

Fundamental to the Academic Tradition, as we have seen, is the concept of educating the 'whole man': the building of moral character and the production of leadership qualities. Aesthetic qualities are also learned through non-academic subjects such as Drama, Art, and Music. Other norms and values are less clearly defined, and involve such ideals as 'playing the game', 'good sportsmanship', 'clean living' and the like.

Opportunities at Lubavitcher School to develop these qualities, by gaining the appropriate 'recipe knowledge', are more limited than those associated with the Great Tradition. There is a rudimentary prefect and house system, with vaguely defined powers and responsibilities. This affects a limited number of boys. Each Form in the secondary school has provision for a Form captain and vice Form captain. But neither system of delegated responsibility and fostering leadership involves more than a handful of boys.[8]

Aesthetic pursuits are almost completely absent. No music is taught. Drama is not a permanent feature of the curriculum, although a small group was intensively coached towards the end of the year in preparation for Speech Night. Art is limited to junior Forms. By third Form it is dropped. There are no clubs run on an after-school basis to encourage boys to take an interest in creative pursuits.

Sport occupies an anomalous position in the school, which reflects the low value placed upon it in the Great Tradition. Part of the lack of interest must be attributed to the poor handling of sport by two part-time masters, who were replaced in the middle of the year by the full-time sports master. This produced some revival of interest and greatly improved standards of teaching and supervision especially for the more enthusiastic junior Forms.

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[8] Discussed more fully in Chapter 12.

However, the arrangement of the campus and facilities affects the participation of the boys. Restrictions of space and equipment curtail what can be done. A variety of elementary gymnastics mainly using tumbling mats or 'Swedish drill', cricket, basketball and volley ball are the main activities. Boys are also taken to the nearby Jewish sports centre for swimming during the summer, and a nearby park on occasions. Informal sporting activities by the boys also include some Australian Rules football in winter, though usually only the ubiquitous high kicking from one end of the playground to the other that can be seen in most schools during the football season. Soccer is also played intermittently.

A marked difference between the school and many others is the absence of the intense inter-house competitions and inter-school matches, that are a feature of the Independent school scene. The school plays infrequent soccer and cricket matches against another Jewish school. The seniors also formed a school soccer team, which played and beat a team from a leading Independent school on its own ground. This was an exceptional event, which resulted in a jubilant group of boys arriving back at school whooping and cheering late in the afternoon.

However, no official reference was ever made to the victory, as would have been customary in many another school. In general, sport is not taken seriously nor thought to be an important part of the curriculum. As boys get older it loses a great deal of attraction. In view of other demands on their time, and irregularities in their study periods, senior boys do not have compulsory sport or a set time for physical education. The sports master tried to arrange opportunities for boys in Forms five and six to have some sport, but, apart from a few enthusiasts, attendance fell away, especially towards the end of the year and approaching examinations.

Less formal sources of behavioural knowledge are members of the secular teaching staff. During lessons and at other times when they are supervising boys, teachers place most emphasis on procedural values: punctuality, orderliness, tidiness, quiet behaviour, respect and good manners when addressing teachers, and similar *desiderata* to ensure effective teaching-learning. There is very little, if any, concern for encouraging 'pastoral' behavioural values, as these are the province of the rabbis.

(6) Summary

Three types of knowledge are organized by the school. Academic knowledge relates to the Academic Tradition, and is almost solely concerned with pragmatic, examination-oriented, non-vocational subjects in the curriculum. Aesthetic subjects are not provided. Knowledge associated with the Great Tradition is, by definition, super-empirical knowledge, that is derived from a divine source that permits of no rational challenge. It adheres very closely to the pattern of scholarship that has been followed for centuries. However, it has had to make very limited concessions to the pressures placed on boys by the demands of the Academic Tradition.

Methods of study and teaching also follow tradition in the case of religious studies, being mainly rote-learning and book-oriented pedagogy. Discussions are *pilpulistic* contests, rather than attempts to achieve a consensus on the issue at stake. These approaches can be dysfunctional for successful academic work, where the emphasis should be placed more on discovery-learning methods, which are held to promote better learning. They are also more efficient methods of preparing for the Senior School examinations, which carry high rewards in terms of scholarships and university entrance qualifications.

Behavioural knowledge in the Great Tradition is derived from its super-empirical knowledge. The emphasis is placed on correct performance of *mitzvot* and rituals associated with the cultic-ceremonial. The dominant assumption is that knowledge of *Torah* will automatically lead to behaving correctly and learning *Yiddishkeit.* In comparison, behavioural knowledge of the Academic Tradition is limited mainly to procedural values, which try to ensure good behaviour in the classroom. Aesthetic values, and the concept of educating the 'whole man' through sport and extra-curricular activities, are given little emphasis.

PART THREE

CONSTRUCTIONS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION AND REALITY

An outlook on life is a construction ... No man holds all he knows and feels about the world in his conscious mind at once .... Every account of a world view is therefore a temporary construction, a precipitation of a crystal from thoughts that from day to day are carried in the flowing solution of life's doings.

Robert Redfield

CHAPTER 10

PUPILS - NEIGHBOURHOOD AND FAMILY CONTEXTS

At the time of the Annual School Census in June 1969, the school had a population of 259 pupils. As is common in many small schools such a number is sufficient only for one Grade or Form for each age range. Appendix 4.5 indicates that the number of pupils in each Grade (mean = 20) is relatively smaller than is common in larger State or Independent schools. Staff-student ratios are correspondingly lower, with concomitant intimacy of relationships throughout the school. Each boy is known by name personally, and the faceless anonymity, which can be found in larger schools, is absent.

(1) The Secondary School and research sample

In most Independent schools, it is customary to refer to Forms one and two as the Lower School, and the remainder (Forms three to six) as the Middle and Senior School. Form three holds a transitional position, poised as it were in the antechamber of the Senior School and all its examination hurdles. Its attitude towards learning can often reflect this, and teachers often comment of the contrast between it and the busy, concrete-operational activities of boys in the Lower School. Some support in psychological terms is available for this assessment from the work of Jean Piaget and his associates (Ginsburg & Opper, 1969). In this study, Form three is more of methodological importance as the cut-off point for the sample of boys I could study intensively.

For the purposes of my research I was primarily interested in the boys from Forms three and above. These are all adolescents, i.e. over thirteen years of age - the criterion adopted by Dunphy (1969). More important, they are thus all *Barmitzvah* with putatively full access to knowledge about the religious beliefs, ritual obligations, and expected behaviours incumbent upon an Orthodox adult Jew. From such knowledge each could not only make a concomitant personal construct of socio-cultural reality, but also would develop attitudes and values towards it. My purpose ultimately is to establish both.

Forms one and two, with whom I had relatively little contact, include boys who are neither adolescents, as defined, nor *Barmitzvah*. Methodological difficulties also precluded detailed study of them. What limited data I was able to obtain are used to supplement those from the more senior Forms. It was also not possible to find out details about their home backgrounds.

My own fourth Form holds pride of place, by virtue of the comparatively greater amount of data I could gather from the boys. It was also suggested to me that they constitute a representative cross-section of the community associated with the school.[1] They would also seem to occupy an important, pivotal position in the school. Not yet at an academic level to be engaged in the maelstrom of the highly competitive leaving and matriculation examinations, with all their attendant secular distractions, they can be assumed to have constructed more coherent views of socio-cultural reality than boys in more junior Forms. As a sub-sample relative to all other Forms in the secondary school they might be expected to hold the sharpest, and most articulated attitudes and values about both secular and religious spheres of their lives.

Such views are not developed *in vacuo*, however. As much educational research has made clear, the 'home context' (Watts, 1970: 85-109) with its concomitant socio-economic status and familial factors plays a vital part in determining attitudes and values. It also influences academic motivation, success and failure. For instance, pupils from encouraging, middle-class socio-economic homes are held to have the greatest chance of doing well at school. Those from culturally deprived homes are at a distinct disadvantage.

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[1] I am indebted to Dr A.M. Hasofer, now Professor of Statistics at the University of New South Wales, for this suggestion.

Home backgrounds play a significant part in determining children's attitudes towards religious beliefs and values (Greeley & Rossi, 1965; Mol, 1971). Thus, if the boys from the fourth Form can be shown to be similar in their backgrounds to the remainder of the Senior School, their pivotal status could be heightened, and assumes crucial importance for this study. The total sample could then be a cross-section of homes in which religious and irreligious, academic and non-academic aspirations and attitudes might be found. In view of their likely influence on the boys' success in coping with the problems of constructing socio-cultural reality, it is thus desirable to establish empirically something of these background, domestic characteristics.

(2) Location of boys' homes

The school is situated in the approximate centre of three contiguous local government areas. Together, these contain just over sixty percent of Melbourne's total Jewish population of approximately 34,000. This is an adjusted figure arrived at for the purposes of the Sociological Study of the Jewish Community of Melbourne carried out in 1966-7 (Lippmann, 1973: 16). The three local government areas constitute a catchment area for the school of some sixteen square miles, which will be referred to hereafter as the *school neighbourhood.* In many respects it meets Gould's (1964) definition of neighbourhood as 'a small segment of a larger inhabited area ... that [is] more or less distinguishable on physical and socio-economic criteria'. All but some two square miles of it falls within a circle some three miles radius from the school.

Of the twenty boys in Form four, eighteen live within the boundary of the school neighbourhood. Of this number, one boy's home is in a suburb of Sydney with a high concentration of Jews, but he boards at the hostel of the Rabbinical College located within a mile of the school. The remaining two boys live in suburbs which are on the periphery of the school neighbourhood.

A similar pattern is evident for Form three, though slightly more boys live outside the neighbourhood boundary. Those living within it comprise sixteen out of the nineteen in the Form. Like the case in Form four, one of those stays at the Rabbinical College premises during Term time. His permanent home is in Sydney. The three boys living outside the school neighbourhood are located in suburbs also with significant numbers of Jews. One boy lives in an adjacent suburb. The remaining two live in an older suburb some nine miles to the north.

In Form five, twenty one out of the twenty four boys live within the school neighbourhood. Again, one of them lodges at the Rabbinical College premises as his permanent home is also in Sydney. Of the three outside the neighbourhood, one lives in a suburb on its periphery, another in the older suburb referred to above. The remaining boy lives in a relatively newly developed suburb, which has attracted a high Jewish population some six miles to the north east.

Ten boys were in the sixth Form at the time of the study. All of them lived within the neighbourhood of the school. The pattern for the four Forms is summarized in the table below.

TABLE 10.1

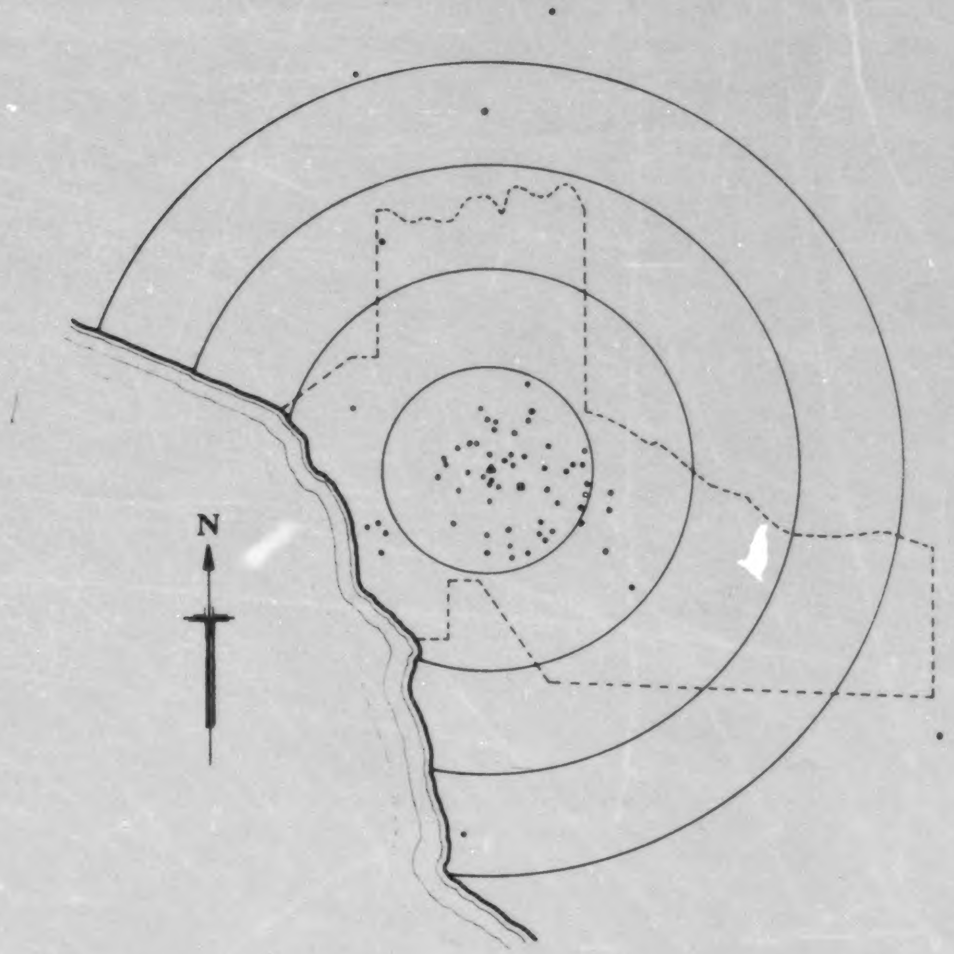
LOCATION OF BOYS BY FORM

Form	Total Boys	In School Neighbourhood		Peripheral Suburbs		'Older' Suburbs		'Newer' Suburbs	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
3	19	16	84.2	1	5.3	2	10.5	-	-
4	20	18	90.0	2	10.0	-	-	-	-
5	24	21	87.5	1	4.16	1	4.16	1	4.16
6	10	10	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	73	65	89.0	4	5.5	3	4.2	1	1.3

There is thus a marked concentration of residences within the school neighbourhood. Of the seventy three boys in the Middle and Senior school, sixty five (89 per cent) live within the neighbourhood. Another four boys (5.5 per cent) live on its periphery. The remaining four live some distance away. Even if the three boys whose permanent homes are in Sydney are discounted the proportion whose homes are located in the neighbourhood still remains high (84.9 per cent).

The pattern of close clustering of homes from which boys come is brought out when their location is mapped, as in the following distribution diagram showing situation of boys' homes in terms of distance from the school. From this diagram the striking concentration of boys' homes within a radius of one mile of the school is at once apparent. The great majority of homes are within two miles of the school.

LOCATION OF BOYS' HOMES IN RELATION TO SCHOOL



----- BOUNDARY OF SCHOOL NEIGHBOURHOOD
▲ SCHOOL
□ RABBINICAL SEMINARY
● BOYS' HOMES
○ HOME WITH TWO BOYS AT SCHOOL

N.B. CIRCLES AT RADII OF 1,2,3 & 4 MILES FROM SCHOOL (NOT TO SCALE)

Fig. 10.1

It is tempting to see in this pattern supporting evidence for Jones' (1969: 23) assertion that persons tend to live in relatively close proximity because they have similar values - in this case belief in the school's type of religious and secular education. A desire to be within walking distance of the Lubavitcher synagogue to facilitate strict adherence to Sabbath observance laws prohibiting driving a car or using transport might also be a factor in the location of homes.

At best, both views are only partially correct, however, as the school is valued for its religious teaching by only a proportion of parents. According to the Principal about fifty per cent of the homes of boys attending the school are irreligious - used here in the sense of not observing the Sabbath. Many of the other parents and their sons belong to other congregations with synagogues also within the school neighbourhood. The Lubavitcher synagogue is not a centre of worship for them, even though the school may be esteemed for its religious teaching.

For the cases where boys come from irreligious families, it is unlikely that the school is chosen for its religious Orthodoxy, though in a few instances this may be so. Despite their own lack of religious observance, such parents might insist that their sons be exposed to religious experience until such age as they can make up their own minds. The remainder, however, choose to send their boys to the school because it is close at hand and convenient. Its growing reputation for high examination honours and pass rates in the all important H.S.C. examination is also an attraction.

The other large Jewish secondary school with comparable successes is located some seven to eight miles away from the neighbourhood by road. Its fees are notably higher than the school, which offers a large number of free or partially supported places. Thus economic considerations are likely to play a major part in parents' decisions to send boys to the school. Proximity reduces travel costs: secular examination record produces a high expectancy that academic qualifications will be gained, and thus ensure either a good job or a passport to university and an assured career: the fee structure of the school is attractive in comparison with its more distant rival.

(3) The school neighbourhood as a culture island

An alternative explanation for the close clustering of boys' homes can be found in the function of the school neighbourhood as a form of culture island, which sustains a general Jewish population within which the homes are situated. The term is used more in an ecological sense to refer to a cluster of sustenance activities and facilities functioning to maintain a particular cultural system. In this case it is what may loosely be termed a Jewish community, though many Jews I talked to denied strenuously that such a thing exists, while using it almost in the next breath as if it does.

(a) Evidence from content analysis of the Jewish press

Some evidence to support its existence is available. To establish something of the school neighbourhood's Jewishness I analysed the content of three issues of the Melbourne edition of *The Australian Jewish News* (September 10, 19, 26) by means of a name and occupation count. These issues covered the period of the Jewish New Year, and were more comprehensive than normal weekly editions. Traditionally, they include greetings from members of the Jewish community, and frequently details are given from which it is possible to identify the types of businesses owned or managed by the well-wishers.

Although non-Jews also advertise in the newspaper, it was still possible to identify many advertisements as stemming from Jews through the wording, name, and phrasing they included. There are recognized problems in content analysis and name counts. In consequence, such methods of obtaining empirical data produce results, which by themselves 'tell an incomplete story' (Madge, 1953: 116). Thus the results given in Appendix 5 are suggestive rather than exact or comprehensive. In addition, a number of occupational categories given in the table were not referred to in the advertisements, and only the most frequently mentioned are included. The result is an incomplete picture of occupations followed by some Jews in the neighbourhood, which supplements information from other sources.

Businesses to do with food manufacturing, selling or cooking and catering total seventy five establishments of which Jews own forty four (58.7 per cent). Businesses relating to clothing and textiles total thirty five of which Jews own or manage twenty three (65.7 per cent). If soft furnishings such as curtains and bedspreads are put in this category, the figures are forty four businesses out of which Jews own or manage twenty seven (61.4 per cent). Clearly, businesses involving fabrics of all kinds are important.

Domestic services have not been included in this table due to the difficulty of classifying them. However, one activity receiving five mentions is that of upholsterer of which two (40 per cent) could be positively identified as Jewish. The great involvement in food and textiles is quite apparent, and would undoubtedly be greater, as only those advertisements showing positive Jewish identification were counted. There were several cases where the name of the owner or manager had a Jewish ring about it, but these were counted as non-Jewish.

(b) Impressionistic evidence for the culture island

Some evidence about Jewish facilities is thus available, but there is an inherent risk in using what amounts to quasi-quantification to present a picture of the neighbourhood in statistical terms. Its human and cultural characteristics can easily be obscured by the figures used, sociologically respectable though these may be. To supplement them, it is necessary to employ a more impressionistic description based on firsthand acquaintance with the neighbourhood.

The commercial centres provide probably the clearest evidence of the day-to-day services which support a Jewish concentration in the neighbourhood. Shops providing *kosher* produce are usually easy to identify from the advertisements in windows often in both English and Hebrew. *Kosher* restaurants are also easy to identify by the same means. Delicatessens and self-service food stores supply a large variety of mid- and Eastern-European foods, many of which have Jewish folk-culture as opposed to religious connotations. Advertisements in the Jewish press to some extent validate these impressions. In *The Australian Jewish News* for the New Year period in 1969, eight out of twelve butchers or poultry suppliers in the neighbourhood stated they observed the *kashruth* code. Nine restaurants and takeaway food caterers also stated they maintained *kosher* premises.

At times of Jewish religious Festivals and Holy Days prominence is given in the shops to the foods appropriate to them, and display signs advertise their availability, much as special foods are featured during comparable periods of the Christian calendar.[2] *Pesach* sees the appearance of packets of *matzos*. The time of *Rosh Hashanah* is associated with rounded bread loaves in place of the regular twisted or braided white loaves common at other times of the year. During the same period, newsagents and stationers display racks of greeting cards for the New Year in English and Hebrew, and Jewish bookshops have available the special prayer book (*Machsor*). In early December, *Chanukah* is associated with the greater prominence of the *Menorah* or branched candelabra, in Jewish gift or bookshops, together with its special candles. Occasionally a *Menorah* can be seen shining in a Jewish home after dark. The analogy of the Christmas tree comes to mind at this time of the year.

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[2] Examples of advertisements in *The Australian Jewish News* are shown in Appendix 5.2.

(c) Cultural activities in the culture island

The fluctuation in Jewish 'visibility' is not only confined to commercial aspects, but is apparent in the increased ebb and flow of groups of Jews coming from or going to the synagogues on *Shabbos*, Holy Days, and Festivals. Families or groups of two or three men, earnestly talking and in their Sabbath best dress, are a common sight usually in the morning, and early evening before sunset. Occasionally bearded rabbis or those from the most Orthodox groups can be seen. At such times the Jewish element of the neighbourhood becomes a *conspicuous culture*, which at other times is sub-merged is the everyday world of commercial affairs.

The neighbourhood is also well served with the organizations to support the Jewish life style. It has some nine synagogues of varying degrees of Orthodoxy, two major community centres, *B'nai B'rith* the Jewish masonic lodge, and a large sports centre. Five Orthodox Jewish day schools, a variety of kindergartens and part-time schools, numerous social halls and meeting rooms are scattered throughout the area. In Medding's succinct term (1968: 30), all these organizations, and others not apparent from the limitations of an external observer's survey, form part of a 'communal roof body' for the Jewish population of the neighbourhood, and thus part of the context for the school.

(4) Boys' family backgrounds

Kramer and Leventman (1969) have referred to affluent Jewish suburbs of American cities as 'gilded ghettos'. The term has both secular and status connotations. Taft and Goldlust (1969: 12) suggest that two of the constituent suburbs in the school neighbourhood could be described as this 'up to a point'. Using data from the 1961 Australian Census, Jones (1969: 45-56; 121-133) found that the school neighbourhood is of broadly middle to high socio-economic status. To what extent is this shared by the families sending boys to the school?

(a) Fathers' occupations and socio-economic status

Fathers' occupations provide some indication of the socio-economic status enjoyed by the families. Like the addresses of the boys, such information is compiled at the beginning of the school year as part of a record of each boy in the official attendance rolls each school is obliged to maintain under State Education Department regulations. However, whereas addresses are not liable to misinterpretation, details of occupations can be commonly vague, and consequently less than reliable as research data. Despite this, data are pointers to the socio-economic status of the families, and can be utilized with this reservation. To classify them I have adopted the broad categories devised by Wiseman (1970), following Radford (1962): Group I, Professional and Higher Managerial (consisting of Radford's University and other Professional categories); Group II, Other Non-Manual (Radford's Sales, Sales Supervisory, and Clerical); Group III, Skilled Manual and Skilled Supervisory; Group IV, Semi- and Unskilled Manual (similar to Radford's). The following table analyses the occupations of fathers of the boys in the four Middle School and Senior Forms according to these groups. The complete list of occupations is given in Appendix 4.6.

TABLE 10.2

OCCUPATIONS OF BOYS' FATHERS BY CLASS GROUPS AND FORM

Groups	Forms				
	3 (*n*=19)	4 (*n*=20)	5 (*n*=22)*	6 (*n*=10)	Totals[+] (*n*=71)
Group I (Professional and Higher Managerial)	8	12	9	4	32[+]
Group II (Other Non-Manual)	8	5	9	3	23[+]
Group III (Skilled Manual)	1	1	4	2	8
Group IV (Semi- and Unskilled Manual)	2	2			4
Unplaced				1	1

[+] Discrepancies in total due to counting father's occupation once where brothers are in different Forms. *Two sets of brothers in Form 5.

The summary conceals an interesting point obvious in the raw data, namely, that three Forms have at least one father who is a rabbi. In this respect Form 4 is atypical. When seen in relation to the Orthodox nature of the school, however, the relatively high number of rabbis among the fathers of Middle and Senior boys is not surprising.

The concentration of father's occupations in the top two class Groups is immediately apparent. A total of fifty five fathers (80.8 per cent) is in the Professional, Higher Managerial and Other Non-Manual

Groups. In contrast, Groups III and IV account for only twelve fathers (16.9 per cent). One occupation could not be placed in the Groups. These findings lend further support to the suggestion that boys in these four Forms come from middle and upper-middle class homes typical of the general social status of the school's neighbourhood.

Using what limited data were obtainable from attendance rolls, Form 4 can be compared with other Forms in respect of the location of boys' homes and occupations of fathers. In the former, the Form shows little variation from the others in the broad class patterns established. These indicate that the great majority of boys from Form 3 and above come from homes located in the school's neighbourhood and within two miles of the school. The predominantly middle and upper-middle class character of the suburbs comprising the neighbourhood on Jones' (1969) class ranking suggests that most boys' homes will have a similar class ranking.

This finding is reinforced by the analysis of fathers' occupations. Here the great majority of boys come from homes where the male salary and wage earners are in the top two occupational classes. Due to the limitations initially placed by the Principal on using more formal questionnaire methods, such findings are based on data which are to some extent inadequate, particularly in respect of fathers' occupations. The broad picture from this sample suggests an overall middle and upper-middle class occupational and residential background to the school and the boys attending it, which differs only in minor respects from the general demographic character of the Jewish neighbourhood as a whole in this part of Melbourne.

(b) Family attitudes towards education

Little empirical data are available from which to establish the degree of Orthodoxy in the boys' homes, or parental interest in the religious education of their sons. However, some indication of what this might be seems implied in the statement of Solomon (1973: 179) that 'for the majority of Melbourne Jewish adults Jewish education is the education of children. Thus, adults want for children an education whose continuation they reject for themselves'.

In respect of secular education, it can be hypothesized that, because of their generally high socio-economic status, parents' aspirations and encouragement for their sons' academic success are likely to be substantial. This would accord with wider findings of numerous studies in the United States, Great Britain and Australia which have established a significant positive relationship between upper and middle class parental status and their child's academic achievement. Such studies have pointed *inter alia* to facilities assisting study at home, availability of books, parents' own educational attainments and, above all, direct parental encouragement as fostering this relationship.

Citing a number of workers, Swift (1971: 181) comments: 'The evidence of research shows fairly conclusively that the more highly parents value education, the more likely they will support their child's educational endeavours, and the more likely he is to succeed'. In this respect, Jewish children are at a distinct advantage. As Strodtbeck (1958: 150) notes: 'Jews have traditionally placed a very high value upon *education and intellectual attainment* . ... The legitimation of education is further bound up with prestige associated with intellectual "brainwork", and the corresponding *lack* of prestige associated with physical accomplishments. This pattern of evaluation starts early in the child's career'. Strodtbeck's findings in an empirical study of Jewish families in America bore out this high valuation of education.

In Melbourne, Lippmann found comparable data among Jews in the 1967 Survey. Commenting on this, Medding notes (1973: 263): 'Perhaps most striking of all was their high valuation of formal education and their remarkable level of educational aspiration and achievement, compared with the general population ...' As the school neighbourhood contains over sixty per cent of Melbourne Jewry, it can be assumed with some confidence that a majority of the boys in my sample come from homes where parents place an equally high value on formal education and educational aspiration and achievement.

(5) Attitudes of parents at parent-teacher evenings

(a) The pattern of attendance

Opportunities to meet a number of the parents of boys taking my subjects provided corroborative evidence of this over-riding concern. In mid-July, the school organizes a number of parent-teacher evenings, at which parents can come to school and discuss their son's progress with the teachers concerned. I was involved with two such evenings, and obtained valuable insights into parental and domestic backgrounds that helped explain some of the learning problems and behavioural idiosyncracies of boys. As many school teachers can testify about similar occasions, attendance of parents can be small, and one does not always get to meet parents he needs to meet in view of their child's problems. On the other hand, those whose child is doing well tend to take up a disproportionate amount of time, as if seeking the official stamp of public and teacher approval on their child's success.

In this instance, however, the reverse was the case. Not only did a relatively large number of parents attend, but parents of boys with learning or other problems tended to predominate, with their proportion increasing the closer the boy was to the external examinations. Another noteworthy feature is the high number of mothers who represented the nuclear family unit. In some cases this was inevitable, as the father is dead or had deserted the family. Despite these few instances, the proportion of mothers remains high and tends to support the traditional, but by now stereotypical, picture of the close mother-son relationship in Jewish families. The attendance figures for the two parent-teacher evenings are shown below, in relation to the numbers of boys I actually taught.

TABLE 10.3

PROPORTION OF PARENTS ATTENDING INTERVIEWS
BY SEX, CLASS LEVEL AND LEARNING PROBLEMS

Level	Total Boys in Class	No. of Boys Discussed	No. with Problems*	Mothers Only	Fathers Only	Mothers & Fathers Together
Form 3	19	9 (47.3%)	4	6	-	3
Form 4	20	14 (70%)	5	7	3	4
Form 5	15	9 (60%)	8	7	1	1
Form 6	4	2 (50%)	2	2	-	-
Totals	58	34 (58.6%)	19	22	4	8

* Note: Problems defined as those leading to average or below average performance in examinations; or giving rise to either obstreperous or obviously withdrawn, passive behaviour in class.

(b) Characteristics of discussions with parents

Although the term 'discussed' is used in the table, in a few cases the 'discussion' consisted of little more than a brief introduction and quick reassurance from me that a bright boy was doing very well indeed. This occurred most frequently with boys in my own Form. Several parents said they had come mainly to meet me and 'see what I looked like', but had no worries about their boy's progress.

The majority of interviews took a lot longer, and, as has been my habit for many years in various schools, I took brief notes of what parents told me and what I advised. Other scribbles were reminders to myself to take some follow-up action. Unlike past experience, however, the atmosphere of the interviews with parents was very different. Full privacy was virtually impossible. Some parents hung around in close proximity while a discussion was going on, and it was obvious that they were taking a keen interest in proceedings. It probably helped them to relieve the tedium of waiting for their turn, but did not assist my work.

The wait obviously irritated one father, who had gradually edged his way to the front of those waiting (after coming late) and, after keeping up a sustained angry mutter, finally burst out: 'Why do you take so long with everybody and talk so much? I have been waiting for a long time. Why are you taking down so many notes about us? I'm not going to hang around here any longer'. He left in a huff, leaving me to reflect wryly that a great deal of his son's behaviour was now quite explicable. The rest of the parents took it very calmly, and, once the hubbub had subsided, resumed their attentive waiting.

(c) Types of parental concern

Deep concern and interest in their son's education was at once apparent as soon as each interview started. Two major issues quickly emerged as more important than anything else. Both concerned academic work. Nearly a quarter of the parents stated emphatically that their sons were not working hard enough either at home or school. In several cases, the school was blamed for being soft on discipline or not setting enough homework. Parents asked me to set more work and not hesitate to drive the boy hard. In this category were three parents who realized that their sons were not academically bright, but should work harder. If necessary they could be helped by special coaching, which they would pay for no matter how expensive.

Parents in the other category felt that their sons were working too hard at home. The most extreme cases were the boys who went to bed late but got up early, usually to attend the school's early service at 7.20 a.m. As some of them did not get home from school until after 6 p.m., they were consequently always bordering on exhaustion but still insisted on starting homework as soon as they had finished dinner. One boy regularly got up at 4 a.m. to work.

A depressingly large number of cases gave evidence that some of the causes of a boy's troubles at school might stem from the familial background. Invidious comparisons with brighter brothers or sisters doing well at school or university; lack of fathers either through death, desertion or work that kept them away from home until late at night; apparent signs of psychological stress such as stammering or chronic nail-biting; were among the many details volunteered by parents. The last bore out the independent, qualified psychiatric opinions I had been given earlier about the high incidence of stress among Jewish adolescents, particularly those from Orthodox backgrounds.[3]

Other parents blamed excessive religious activities for a boy's tiredness or poor academic performance. These were due to the demands on a boy's time made by the school, it was said, by the boy's voluntary, over-zealous performance of religious duties, or by the pressure put on him by elderly relatives to carry them out punctiliously.

Both evenings devoted to interviews with parents supported Medding's observation about the high value Melbourne Jews place on formal education, future aspirations and educational achievement. The same value was seen to be shared by a proportion of the boys concerned, though how typical these are of the general school population is still questionable. It is a major issue taken up later in Part Three.

(6) Summary

The great majority of boys selected for detailed study come from socio-economic backgrounds and homes that can be expected to be most supportive of the value placed on learning in the Academic Tradition. The Jewish emphasis on formal education, educational aspiration and achievement is borne out by research findings from a sample of Jews living in the same neighbourhood as the boys.

Parent-teacher interviews confirm the concern of boys' parents with academic work. Although some ambivalence exists about the school's role - it either does not drive the boys hard enough, or demands too much time for religious studies - there seems little doubt about parental concern for academic success. It is dominated by the meritocratic bias of the

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[3] Discussions with field officers of the Jewish Welfare Society and a Melbourne psychiatrist.

Academic Tradition.

Less interest is expressed in religious matters, and few firm conclusions can be drawn about parental support for the amount of time the school devotes to activities relating to the Great Tradition. However, those boys who wish to be observant are supported in their efforts by the facilities available in the culture island within which the school is situated. They also live within walking distance of the school in the great majority of cases, and this facilitates Sabbath attendance at the Lubavitcher *shul*.

CHAPTER 11

THE CONSTRUCTION OF INTERPERSONAL EXCHANGES IN THE SCHOOL

The school complex is the locus for countless interpersonal exchanges during the course of any one day. They are constructed and negotiated by the boys vis-a-vis other boys, and vis-a-vis members of the teaching, administrative and para-administrative staff. The problematic nature of interpersonal exchanges has been discussed *inter alia* by Mead (1938), Goffman (1959), Cicourel (1973: 26 ff.). The latter cites Turner's (1962: 22-23) clear statement of the basic reason for both the problematic nature of exchanges and the fact that acting towards an other entails both role-taking and role-making:

> The actor is not the occupant of a position for which there is a neat set of rules - a culture or set of norms - but a person who must act in the perspective supplied in part by his relationship to others whose actions reflect roles that he must identify. Since the role of alter can only be inferred rather than directly known by ego, testing inferences about the role of alter is a continuing element in interaction. Hence the tentative character of the individual's own role definition and performance is never wholly suspended.

The concern of this chapter is to establish as far as possible what meanings boys assign to others in the interaction situation, and what definitions of their own roles and attendant norms govern interpersonal exchanges, i.e. something of their 'logic-in-use' (Kaplan, 1964: 8). As data I use 'commonsense' observations of boys' interpersonal exchanges in the classrooms and school, based on a form of micro-ethnographic technique involving both full and partial participant observation. There are recognized weaknesses in the observer's external stance (Becker, 1970; Becker & Geer, 1970; Cicourel, 1973: 25), which result in theorizing based on 'reconstructed logic' (Kaplan, op. cit., p. 8; Cicourel, loc. cit.). Thus, where possible, data are supported by statements of boys themselves, and by comments of other members of staff.

(1) Interpersonal exchanges with teaching staff

Interpersonal exchanges between boys and teaching staff show a marked contrast according to the situation in which they occur within the school complex. Although there are times when overlap occurs, it is convenient to divide them into informal (non-teaching) situations, and formal (teaching - learning) situations.

(a) Informal situations

Exchanges outside the teaching-learning situation are usually, though not invariably, characterized by almost precocious friendliness, curiosity and eagerness to ask both personal and impersonal questions. The boy's behaviour shows a willing readiness to strike up a conversation on every and any topic, undeterred by the difference in 'status' between him and the adult he engages in conversation. A confident, man-to-man, adult manner is adopted. Although a deference title ('sir', 'mister') is used, it is clear that the boy regards himself as close to, if not actually on, equal footing with the adult. Even first Formers show basically similar attitudes. An intimate style of verbal exchange is reinforced by paralinguistic means of communication: gesticulations, close proximity and small spatial distance between interlocutors, occasionally reaching actual body contact, such as touches on the arm to gain and hold attention.

When an exciting incident such as an accident in the school is the subject of the exchange, it can take on an air of quiet hysteria. Details are avidly discussed, magnified and almost shouted at one in the excitement. Verbal exchange is accompanied by vigorous gesticulation. Gross body-displacement actions such as swaying, shoulder and head tics, rocking onto alternate feet, all convey a high degree of tension.

The style of 'normal' interpersonal exchanges may owe more to the general influence of Jewish ethnic behavioural style rather than the Great Tradition. However, it has been suggested that from quite an early age boys accompany their fathers to the *shul*, where they note, and can take part in the discussions and gossip that are a feature of its behavioural dynamics.[1] As soon as he is *Barmitzvah* the boy is technically an adult, and entitled to full status in religious matters, even though chronologically he is still an adolescent. Should the boy be scholarly and well-versed in Talmud, he will traditionally be accorded respect and a hearing in religious matters. The obvious esteem in which the young scholar from Sydney was held at the *Torah* Evening described above is a classical example of the deference paid to those highly gifted, at whatever age (Zborowski & Herzog, 1952: 92-121 *passim*). As a result of such cultural influences, boys may develop precocious ability to relate to adults, which takes little account of their 'status', but is based more on personal qualities such as knowledge, scholarship, and the ability to impart it. These may well be the norms on which boys, in this school at least, base interpersonal exchanges.

(b) Formal, teaching-learning situations

The character of interpersonal exchanges in the formal teaching-learning situation of the classroom is less easy to assess. Most classroom behaviour takes place behind closed doors in settings where the teacher is his or her own arbiter of the norms that will prevail. Discussion is accordingly confined to my own experience in a variety of classrooms, or to those few interpersonal exchanges between others that could be witnessed unobtrusively. Independent comments from colleagues validate these observations.

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[1] From several discussions with adult Jewish informants.

Boys clearly see classroom exchanges as opportunities for manipulating the teacher to their own advantage wherever possible. They claim to assess teachers or 'work them out' very quickly, and from then on try to control a lot of what occurs. According to a parent of one of the boys in my Form, even after a fortnight they had not yet 'worked out' what I was really up to. Usually, he said, they had a new teacher 'worked out' in a matter of days, but apparently I had them baffled.[2]

The conviction that they control things is occasionally articulated by boys. After a period when my own Form, which was usually fairly well behaved, had been fractious, I issued a general warning that I would not tolerate further misbehaviour. One boy piped up cockily: 'We only behave if we want to. We could easily get rid of you if we wanted to - we only have to tell the rabbi ...' What about was not specified, but the inference was clear: I would be labelled as an anti-Semite and asked to leave the school, which had been the fate of my predecessor. This is the ultimate sanction the boys can use against the non-Jewish teacher, and they make no bones about it. The sixth Form started a deliberate campaign against one staff member, who had long experience in Independent schools, and possessed an innate, friendly and good-natured manner. The boys openly boasted that they would force him to leave the school. One went further. Mr _________ was an obvious anti-Semite and a racist he stated. He (the student) would get him out of the school on these (albeit spurious) grounds.

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[2] From personal discussion.

The boys respect knowledge and authoritarian pedagogy to an extent that makes them suspicious and intolerant of more pupil-centred learning methods. Parents and the Principal share the boys' attitudes. Assignments using printed instruction sheets, or attempts to organize discussions using boys' choice of topics, seem to arouse insecurity and produce bad behaviour. A 'good' class is one where traditional chalk-and-talk lessons are being conducted, or pupils are engaged on book work in silence. Anything radically different is construed as 'bad' teaching, and might even attract the attention of the Principal during his regular peregrinations around the school. He would poke his head in the door to see if all was well, even though industrious, pupil-oriented activity was in progress. It often seemed better to keep teaching in the traditional style: this was 'real' teaching and caused no worry.

Radical departures from such a teaching style could generate behavioural problems among boys. On one occasion I had to deputise for the senior English master, and attempted to lead an impromptu discussion with the fourth Form. The attempt broke down into silliness and complete disruption. The boys seemed unable or unwilling to choose a topic, and the lesson became a competition to see how far they could go before I stopped them. Some dozen topics were suggested (Appendix 6.3), and the boys would have gone on to put forward more if I had not stopped them. It was clear virtually from the outset that they had no serious intention of agreeing on a topic and conducting a sensible discussion. The lesson was turned into a contest, in which I was being manipulated.

The boys' reactions must be analysed with some caution. The same breakdown into silly behaviour could have occurred in any class more used to authoritarian teaching, and suddenly confronted with a democratic approach. I had encountered similar reactions in other schools when deputising for a teacher. However, the contest would rarely be pushed to the same length. Many boys would be apathetic, and the task of discussing one of two or three suggested topics would be left to the keenest. In the Jewish school however, there was obviously no intention of agreeing on anything. Yet many of the topics the boys did suggest were educationally worthwhile. They reflected an interest in world affairs, which was relatively greater than I had experienced among boys in comparable State high or Independent boys schools. This was all the more marked as they did not take social studies. In the Leaving course all such topics are included.

Some suggestions are quite comparable to what would be proposed in such schools - matters relating to sport, teachers' right to strike - while others reflect cultural specificity. In this category come haircuts and beards. The latter became a small issue during the year among some of the sixth Formers, who began to grow the beginnings of beards in strict accordance with the prescriptions of *Halachah* against shaving the 'corners' of the beard, despite the Principal's disapproval.[3]

An interesting omission is any reference to sex, boy-girl dating, T.V. programmes and the like, which would have cropped up very quickly in a list of non-Jewish suggestions, even if only as a try-on. As the Principal had earlier informed me, the former are the province of the rabbis, being treated explicitly and in detail with senior boys during lessons based on the *Schulchan Aruch*. Their omission could reflect the fact that sex and boy-girl relationships are non-issues through being covered in such a thorough and explicit manner during religious lessons.

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[3] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 4: 170; Lev. 19: 27.

The fourth Form experience had arisen due to my substituting for another teacher. Such occurrences can generate intra-class tensions and silly behaviour in any school, as pupils' role expectations of the substitute teacher can often differ from those they normally hold of their regular teacher. In a subject which is supposedly unfamiliar to him, the substitute becomes fair game. His lack of knowledge and expertise can be tested out and exploited. Obvious differences in teaching style can be interpreted as weakness, with consequent misbehaviour and lack of co-operation.

In the discussion I attempted to create, all of these factors could have operated to exacerbate the silliness and distort the pattern of behaviour that might usually obtain with the regular teacher. I was very much part of the dynamics of the class at the time. The boys quickly spotted that I was not going to use an authoritarian approach, and probably sensed that I had an ulterior motive for not clamping down on them. In effect they played up for my benefit and fed on the behaviour I injected into the *gestalt*.

Negotiating and bargaining with the teacher are at their strongest when examination results are involved. The post-examination period becomes tense and suspicious until full satisfaction in terms of marks gained is achieved. When examination papers are returned, boys rush feverishly to one another, and compare marks, subjecting each question to meticulous scrutiny. Ultimately the majority come agitatedly out to the table to ask why they have not been awarded half a mark like so-and-so. As the following example indicates, arguments can be lengthy, subtle, and often backed by recourse to written authority, in much the same style as discussions and arguments are conducted in religious classes.

'You haven't given me anything for saying semi-tropical forests are in the Canterbury Plain'.

'I know. They do not occur in the Plain'.

'Yes? But look here (pointing to a text book), it says they are found in parts of the *North* Island of New Zealand'.

'That's right, but not in the South Island'.

'Not the South Island?'

'No (emphatically), not the South Island'.

'Ah! But you gave L________ half a mark for saying that semi-tropical forests are found in New Zealand'.

'Did I?'

'Yes, and I have put Canterbury Plains, *New Zealand*, (pointing triumphantly). That deserves half a mark too'.

One gives up the battle here and awards the half mark. Honour has been maintained and apparent justice gained.

The incident was typical of many involving examination papers. After my first experience of the intensity of bargaining for the extra mark - far greater than in any of my previous schools - I had adopted the practice of marking the school's papers at least twice, even three times. This still did not prevent some trivial points being missed, but did reduce the number of battles I had to face. They are conducted ruthlessly, with pressure being implacably applied at every step. Manners are forgotten in the heat of the argument, and no point is left unexamined. Even usually polite and quiet boys can become worked up and impassioned about marks.

This attitude is not only confined to the results of examinations held at the school. The external C.S.S.E. results were subjected to endless scrutiny. On one occasion the Principal drew me into his office, some weeks after they were published. 'You know', he said sorrowfully, 'if so-and-so had been given an extra mark in mathematics, he might have got a scholarship'.

Despite their apparent self-assurance and claims to manipulate the teacher, many boys display a marked dependence and need for reassurance. These traits feature more in Lower and Middle School Forms than in senior. Boys show considerable inability to settle down quickly to learning tasks. Trivial routine activity is worried about, and questions about what to do are virtually endless at the start of a lesson. Boys bring their books up to have the task explained for them, to check instructions, or to make certain that they have got the correct page. Self reliance is low.

Another phenomenon is an apparent need for recognition from both the teacher and peers. During the course of a lesson in which individual work is being done, boys constantly come out to have work praised or approved. One boy's success in gaining the teacher's approbation provokes a chain reaction. The boy's peers grab their books with anxious, tense expressions, and come out. 'Is mine allright too? What do you think of mine? Look, sir, look ... that's good, isn't it?' The apparent need to be recognized leads them to jostle one another in their anxiety, and to crowd around the teacher in close physical proximity.

The same phenomenon occurs during a discussion unless a tight control is maintained, and exchanges are conducted formally. If an informal discussion starts up between the teacher and a few boys in one part of the room, others will rush out to join in. They crowd around to get heard, jostle each other and the teacher indiscriminately. Verbal exchanges are heated and passionate, with a high level of accompanying gesticulation. The dynamics of the interpersonal exchanges are highly charged, and almost instinctively the teacher backs away from the encounter, or persuades the boys back into their seats, where they sit like so many barely-repressed volcanoes ready to burst out again. To prevent this, authoritarian methods have to be used.

This type of behaviour has roots in the tradition of scholarship in the *yeshivot* of Eastern Europe, as Zborowski and Herzog (1952: 99) comment:

> Even in a formal classroom, however, the students often jump up on the benches in their excitement, or leave their seats in order to crowd around the teacher. Their great reverence for him is no deterrent to the vehemence of the arguments they hurl against each other and against him. A good teacher presides over the verbal battles with dignity and strength, preferring the active students to the ones who are passive and silent.

(c) Expressed reactions of teaching staff

The kind of constantly reiterated comments from members of the full-time teaching staff validate the impressionistic data on boys' behaviours. They are 'very different from boys at other schools'. They are 'very difficult and demanding ... get up to many things; you have to keep on your toes all the time'. The boys are 'very likeable, once you get to know them, but very demanding'. An almost invariable rider would accompany any comment: 'They are *so* different; it's difficult to put your finger on the reason, but it's definitely there. I don't know what it is. They *can* be so likeable'.

A more comprehensive explanation is offered by a non-Jewish, part-time teacher with considerable experience in State schools. 'They are very difficult boys, nervous and very demanding. Each boy thinks everything has to be done for him. If you tell one boy something, all the rest will want to be told the same thing individually. If you ask me, I put it down to genetic causes - racial characteristics'.

Coming from a part-time teacher, such a comment is surprising, as the part-time teachers had a number of sanctions working for them which would militate against bad behaviour from the boys. Firstly, many are highly qualified as they are 'borrowed' from Advanced Colleges of Education with which the school has developed contacts. Other part-time senior teachers come from Independent schools, where they hold positions of subject responsibility. Respect for their expertise is particularly marked among the fifth and sixth Formers, who depend on the part-time staff for their success in the end of the year examinations. Any qualification that enhances the expertise is enthusiastically noted. A replacement senior history teacher had to be found in the middle of the year. At the time he was a member of the examining panel for the V.U.S.E.B. The boys steadfastly held the opinion that he had inside information about the examination papers, and would not be persuaded otherwise. My own responsibility as a member of the examining panel for Leaving geography produced similar reactions, no matter how often I pointed out that I had no inside knowledge.

The possession of knowledge and expertise helps a part-time teacher maintain discipline for another reason. The second powerful sanction at his disposal is his power to withdraw the knowledge by leaving the job. The boys know this. The position is not his main source of income but a sideline. He has few loyalties to the school, and thus no compunction about leaving. Boys articulate their fears that good teachers will leave, just as they vent their hostility against poor teachers, i.e. those who lack knowledge and ability to impart it by authoritarian means. During the second year of the research, my position at the school became that of part-time matriculation social studies teacher. On several occasions, members of the class would order others to stop fooling about or else I would leave. The part-time teacher is thus able to make his scarcity in the labour market work for him in controlling a class. It will not save a grossly incompetent teacher, however, as the boys have a highly developed sense of getting value for their fees. They play up in class and force the teacher to leave, or approach the Principal and demand that he be sacked and replaced by someone more competent.

In many respects, boys' behaviour takes on a transactional character in senior Forms. 'Good' behaviour is traded for 'good' teaching. If the latter is not forthcoming 'bad' behaviour results until either good teaching is obtained or the offending teacher leaves, to be replaced hopefully by a better teacher. The demands of the Academic Tradition's 'examinamania' clearly operate to determine how the boys construct the meaning of 'good' behaviour and 'good' teaching in strictly utilitarian terms. It is immaterial to them that it may not be good education.

(d) The reactions of religious teaching staff

Interpersonal exchanges between boys and religious teaching staff in the classroom situation could not be witnessed through direct participant observation, but incidents could be heard and seen indirectly, and their results noted. Although religious lessons are usually orderly and controlled, there are many exceptions when the tolerance of the religious teacher is tried beyond endurance. Tempers are lost explosively; boys are slapped or cuffed hard, usually about the head or face; and on occasions the teacher bursts out of the classroom almost apoplectic with fury, leaving behind a hubbub of noise, laughter and some jeering. Junior rabbis appear to have most trouble, especially from the two junior Forms. They can be seen in the doorway expostulating heatedly with the boys, and demanding quiet and good behaviour if the religious lesson is to continue. Often this would not occur, and the Principal would have to be called in.

Two boys were expelled during the year, on both occasions for disobedience and insolence to a teaching rabbi. The more serious of the cases provoked anxious comings and goings of rabbis and other religious teaching staff, culminating in long heated meetings in the Principal's office. When the boy was finally expelled, the parents visited the school to express their concern that he was being debarred from an important geography examination. The boy was not reinstated for several weeks. In direct contrast, no boy was expelled for insolence and disobedience to secular staff, although such incidents were not infrequent. The onus of proof lies squarely on the secular teacher, with every credence being placed in the boy, should the matter ever reach the Principal. Few secular staff invoke the ultimate sanction of expulsion, even though they may send a boy to the Principal for disciplining. The boys are clearly aware of the ambivalence.

It is not clear how boys construct the norms that should prevail during religious lessons. Knowledge and expertise do not suffice, apparently, as they do in the Academic Tradition. On more than one occasion, the *shochet*, whose qualifications entitled him to the approbation of the community as scholar and scribe, was tried to the limit of his patience by the fifth Form. His discussions with me on such occasions allowed him to articulate his frustration over the boys' lack of co-operation and disruptive behaviour. They challenge everything he says; often do not believe even what is written in the Scripture, and seem intent on creating disorder in the class by frequent questions and irrelevant comments. Yet one of the senior teaching rabbis apparently had little difficulty with the more difficult third Form, or with the class for *mishnayis* during the afternoon. His erudition, dignified presence and apparently imperturbable manner seemed to make indiscipline and silliness out of the question. The *mishnayis* class were constantly expressing their concern about being late for the lesson: they would get into 'trouble', as the rabbi does not like lateness.

When religious staff discuss challenges to their authority, it is in terms which lay the blame on the boys and their home backgrounds. The young teaching rabbi, so sorely tried by the first Form commented: 'They are very brash and ill-mannered. A lot of it is due to being spoilt at home. They are indulged in every way'. To another religious teacher, the boys are badly behaved because of the school itself. 'There are many wild boys in that class. They need more discipline in the school. There is no real discipline at all ... a general slack attitude about the place. It makes it difficult to hold the boys. Having a woman in charge of Form two is a mistake. I can't exactly say what it is, but there *is* a generally poor tone about the place'.

(2) Interpersonal exchanges with administrative staff

In contrast with relationships with teaching staff, those between boys and the administrative and para-administrative staff tend to be casual, informal, and relaxed. None of this group of staff is involved with the direct transmission of either Tradition. The school secretary assists with supervision of boys' lunch time. She admonishes those who do not wash their hands properly, and generally tries to ensure that boys carry out their ritual obligations as punctiliously as possible. The boys accept her fussing with good humour. When boys come to her office for administrative matters, interpersonal exchanges are relaxed and informal. The secretary knows all the boys personally by name, and assumes a firm 'motherly' approach to them. The boys invariably respond well. It seems that tense interpersonal exchanges are confined mostly to the classrooms.

The caretaker similarly experiences few difficulties, although the demands the boys place on him to mend equipment or provide sports gear are at times excessive. He handles boys firmly if they loiter behind in a classroom which he is trying to clean up after the school day. He has few discipline problems as he is attached to the school in general, rather than the Form structure and organization. He too has nothing to do with the formal transmission of the Traditions.

We might assume that the secretary and caretaker experience few difficulties because they are basically unrelated to the organization which is concerned with the boys' actual learning. By assisting boys to leave at the end of a day, they are, in fact helping them to escape it. As Shipman has pointed out (1968: 56) the secretary and caretaker 'can become key figures in a school because their status is not defined by the same norms that bind staff and pupils'. This is implicit in their relationships with boys who adopt correspondingly relaxed styles of interpersonal exchanges.

(3) Interpersonal exchanges with peers

As with exchanges between boys and staff, it is convenient to distinguish those that occur in informal situations, such as the playground or excursions (though the latter are also intended to assist learning), and in formal situations such as the classroom.

(a) Informal situations

Interpersonal exchanges in the playground and adjoining areas range from the relaxed air of a group of senior boys deep in discussion with some of the Rabbinical College students, to the exhuberance and noise of those of all ages playing games or a sport. Smaller boys play chasy all over the campus, not excluding the *shul*, through which they are apt to career in apparent disregard of the reverence that one might expect to prevail there.

The close spatial confines of the playground bring boys of all ages together. One result is a high degree of supportive and nurturant behaviour shown by some senior boys towards those much younger. Should one of the primary Grades get hurt in a tumble, he will be assisted back onto his feet and comforted by a senior boy nearby, with no sign of self-consciousness. Considerable patience and gentleness are displayed. Often the small child will be picked up and briefly cuddled before being put down again, to run off, his injury forgotten. Some senior boys seem to be more in demand as protectors and comforters than others, and the sight of a tall sixth Former holding the hand of a toddler from the kindergarten or primary school is quite commonplace.

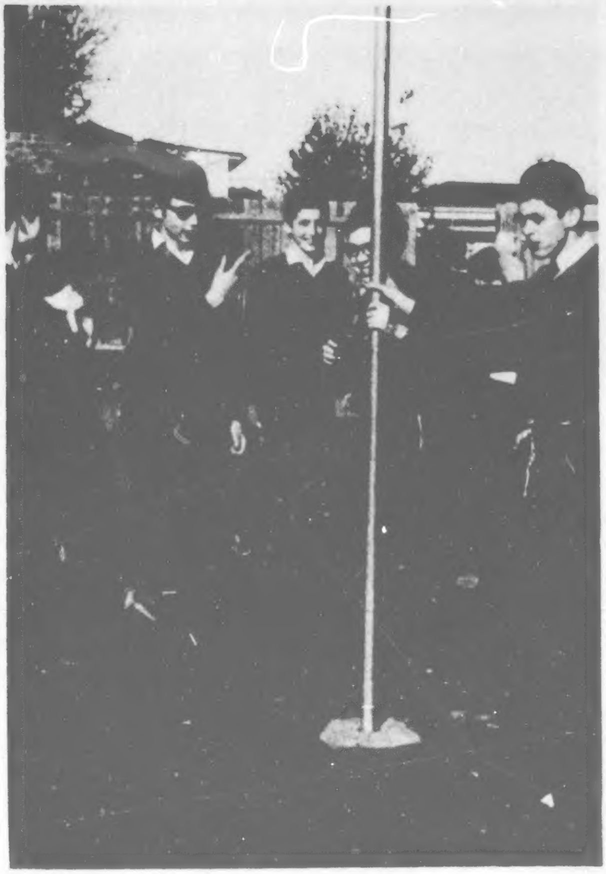
It would be easy but an oversimplification to see in this close, supportive behaviour proof of the values placed on love and tolerance in the man-community value orientation. A more likely explanation is related to the close kinship relationships in a small school-community where brothers or cousins can be found in all Grades. Traditionally, Jews place high value on members of a family caring for each other.

Despite the excitement and occasional quarrels generated by the games going on simultaneously in all parts of the limited playground area, it is rare for actual fighting to erupt. Arguments are far more frequent but seldom, if ever, lead to physical aggression. Their nature and intensity depend on the games being played. In summer, for instance, three small cricket pitches are marked out on the walls of the main teaching block, and there is fierce competition among junior boys to claim one of the pitches during lunch time or after school. During games boys from one pitch get in the way of those from other pitches, balls stray into others' 'territories' and are occasionally pirated. As a result, tempers run hot with high-pitched arguments, and scuffles over possession of the ball.

A further ball game, colloquially termed 'downball', is played against the walls, and seems to be more favoured in winter and autumn than summer. In essence it is a modified type of fives played by pairs or small teams. The object is to hit the ball down onto the ground with the hand so that it rebounds from the wall out of reach of an opponent. Boys of all ages play the game, and it is a particular favourite of rabbinical students, some of whom show considerable speed and skill in what can be fast and exciting matches.

They can also be noisy, and, like all the sports that are played, they also present the incongruous picture of participants wearing *yarmelkehs* or hats engaging in energetic sports. Shirts or jackets can be disarrayed - occasionally they are torn in vigorous basketball games - and the *tzitzit* work loose to flap from the waist.

Some boys show athleticism and physical co-ordination of a very high order. These attack the games with dash, vigour and concentrated



An interlude during an informal basketball game. The fringes (*tzitzit*) of the *tallit katan* are clearly visible at boys' waists.

Unsupervised volleyball involving pupils from several Grades.

intensity. In consequence, injuries can be common but are treated lightly and even become class jokes. During the year, a number of boys in my Form were injured in ways that merited professional medical treatment and, possibly, enforced rest. Neglected, crushed toes and infected blisters, bruised insteps and multiple lacerations from football stops, grossly ingrowing toenails, severe contusions to thighs and legs all came to my attention, and on several occasions had to be bathed and treated on the spot. No other treatment had been sought, because the boys dismissed the injuries as of little importance.

My previous experience as a sports master in boys' schools came in useful on these occasions, providing some knowledge to treat the injuries, and memories of those others I had treated elsewhere with which to compare their severity. In my mind there was no question that the boys' attitudes were different, almost as if through over-compensating by vigour during the game, and by stoicism when injured, they proved they were the equal of *goyim*.

Indifference to injuries seemed to extend to some Jewish staff. On one occasion, a primary school child cut his knee badly in the playground. I came upon the group of arguing boys crowding around him as I passed through the yard on my way to the staffroom. Several adults stood by seemingly indifferent to the fuss, and may not have appreciated what had happened. Nobody seemed willing to do anything.

After I had carried the child into the lunch room and sat him on a table to clean up the cut, I sent a boy for the school's first-aid kit normally kept in the secretary's office. The request for it apparently caused some surprise - why bother, it was only a cut. The kit also proved to be inadequate: a few adhesive plasters, some old cotton wool, and a small bottle of Dettol comprised its contents. Eventually the deep cut was duly cleaned up, plastered, and the boy taken to his Grade mistress. During proceedings the Principal came in, evincing only cursory interest in the boy, but appearing to be fascinated, judging from his close scrutiny, by the way I meticulously washed, re-washed and finally dried my hands at the sink. My subsequent errand to the nearest chemist shop, to purchase the number of items I felt should be in the kit, was accepted as a matter of course and passed off unacknowledged.

Vigour and energy are not confined to body-contact sports. Even cricket, not noted for producing excitable behaviour, can erupt into intense, animated activity and fierce, vituperative arguments. Boys dash compulsively up to the master-in-charge to question whether so-and-so is out, or whether a run should be scored from a dubious hit. Hot words are shouted from one end of the pitch to the other, gesticulations and impassioned movements indicative of disgust at a decision occur frequently. Cricket too can be a noisy game for participants.

For a sizeable proportion of boys, however, it and other sports can present surprising problems. These are due to a higher incidence of postural defects and poor psychomotor co-ordination and dexterity than is encountered in non-Jewish schools. Lordosis (sway back), flat feet, obesity and lack of stamina are also evident, inhibiting full participation in games. The phenomena of boys repeatedly fumbling a simple catch, running in an awkward splay-foot manner, and otherwise displaying inefficient control over their physical co-ordination are commonplace.

Some of the injuries I had seen may well have been caused by this very fact, exacerbated by the energy with which games are played. Fit, co-ordinated bodies get injured less frequently. My own observations were corroborated by the sports master who knew of my previous experience. He too had been surprised at the high incidence of defects, which made his work correspondingly more difficult. Not only were some boys reluctant to perform many exercises, or did so very clumsily when coerced, but a proportion literally were unable to, and had to be taught the psychomotor skills sports masters can take for granted elsewhere.

Poor condition and disinclination for physical activity are not confined to the playground. During the latter part of the year, I took the fourth and fifth Forms on geography field-trips to areas in the hills near the city. We went in particular to a spot I had used on many past occasions for visits by boys and girls from previous schools.

After the lengthy bus journey on the occasion of the fifth Form trip, we got out, and assembled to discuss the land use of the immediate locality. From that point I was accustomed to take classes up a moderately steep fire-track to a vantage point on a hillside some six hundred yards away, from which to survey the agricultural use in the surrounding countryside. Our progress on this occasion was painfully slow, and, for some boys, obviously a great effort. One boy did not get to the vantage point: we found him on the way back sitting puffed out beside the track. For others, even the short climb we achieved produced laboured breathing and heaving chests.

The descent down the track, which was in unusually dry condition for the time of year, posed almost as many problems for some boys as going up. Slips and falls were frequent. One boy resorted to coming down backwards in places on his hands and feet. Yet this was a track, which the previous year had been wet and deep in mud. But it was tackled then with more ease by a group of fifth Form girls from a leading public school, when I took them over the same excursion.

In the above comments on boys' sporting activities and general lack of good physique, compared with boys at any Independent school, there is clear evidence to support the low value placed on sport in the Great Tradition and, possibly, the community associated with the school. We can also note how boys' behaviours are inappropriate constructions of what games such as cricket require. Again, this points to lack of familiarity with the norms and rules under which they are conducted.

(b) Formal situations

Interpersonal exchanges in classrooms vary greatly according to the authority of the teacher taking the lesson, the subject being studied, and other variables such as time and type of day - whether windy and rainy, or fine and sunny - and the period of the year -- just prior to an examination or religious Festival. Classrooms can be quiet, studious places where industrious work is going on individually, or, more frequently, where didactic teaching compels attention. On very many occasions, however, classrooms are places where interpersonal exchanges between boys are tense, anxious, and prone to erupt into physical or verbal aggression. The verbatim accounts given in Appendices 6.1-6.2 are not atypical of the behaviour that can occur in junior Forms even with a teacher present.

When a teacher is late for class, violence can break out among the boys, or be directed against the classroom furniture. Boys rush around frenetically, systematically bang desk lids up and down, kick furniture, push each other over desks, punch, wrestle and shout. The pandemonium gives every impression of mindless violence and uncontrolled aggression. A survey of the room by a 'physical erosion check' of the type suggested by Webb *et al* (1966: 35) provides supporting evidence. Some desks lack backs, or they fall off if leant against. Some desk lids are cracked right across and are only held together by the wooden cross-piece screwed on the back, and even this is loose. Hinges are loose or missing entirely. Some bottoms of desks have been punched in, and the seats sit loosely on the bars to which they are normally screwed.

Like other rooms in the teaching block, the room in which violence of this type occurs shows other signs of neglect. The hessian backing on the display boards along the rear wall hangs in shreds in one or two places. Old torn roller blinds flap in the draught coming through the damaged sash of one window, which cannot be properly closed. Even new blinds provided later in the year fail to operate after a few days due to broken springs. They also flap in the draught. The boys joke about it: 'Nothing lasts long in this room, we're a rough lot. In any case, see what quality you get from a Jewish supplier'. There is no attempt to help repair the damage.

The comment of the boys about their own behaviour was echoed by other boys during the year. They clearly see themselves as excitable and tense. 'We are an excitable race, don't worry about it', said one matriculation boy during a lesson, when I expressed concern about the noise and bad behaviour obviously going on in the *shul* below us. On another occasion, a similar disruption to our work occurred, and one of the boys went downstairs to control the junior class clamouring in the *shul*. 'Don't be too violent with them' called out one of his friends as he left the room. When I expressed surprise that Jews condoned violence, and in the *shul* of all places, I was informed again that excitement and occasional violence are not uncommon among Jews. 'They are just part of the way we behave'.

When violence is directed against them, however, especially as verbal aggression when a teacher completely loses his temper, a wary masked look can descend over the boys' faces. They wait, tense, and curiously passive until the onslaught stops. It is as if they expect to be castigated in this way. The same wary, defenceless behaviour characterized adult Jews during an incident in the year, when the owner of a house adjoining the school stormed into the office to complain about boys cheeking him from the balcony of the teaching block. Not one of the Jews tried to counter the tirade of abuse: all adopted the passive manner.

Even when classroom behaviour does not degenerate into outright violence on the scale described above, classrooms commonly convey the impression of movement, activity and bustle. They are very 'busy' places. Especially in junior Forms there are constant consultations between boys, who leave their seats and go to see what others are doing, or to show them their own work. The harmony is easily broken. Books are snatched, only to be snatched back again. Blows, recriminations and insults are freely exchanged. Even in a senior Form, it is not uncommon for a boy to leap violently out of his seat, dash down the aisle, and punch another boy, all while a lesson is supposed to be going on. Verbal aggression - taunts, threats, sneering remarks flung around the class - is far more common.

Unless a lesson is tightly controlled by didactic teaching, which the teacher is virtually forced into, or by constantly patrolling the classroom during individual work to squash incipient silly behaviour, the class is seldom doing relaxed, quiet work for more than half of any period. Even at its most relaxed a class seems to be in a state of perpetual tension. Boys' movements are sharp and jerky; books are closed with a snap; desk lids are flung back rather than lifted. Everything is done vigorously.

Even when seemingly absorbed in a task, a boy's motor activity is still apparent: he rocks backwards and forwards monotonously in the manner associated with religious study or prayer, or fidgets around in his seat. It seems difficult to keep still for very long, or to hold concentration. Heads lift inquisitively at the slightest incident in class. Even if it involves only one boy, others want to chip in with gratuitous comments. They offer advice, make denigrating remarks, tell the offender to 'shut up', anything except get quietly on with their own work.

Although such classes present an impression of hyperactivity and gross waste of time, most boys manage to accomplish the majority of the set work. Some are rapid workers, but seem unable to settle down to other tasks if they are set. When finished they go around bothering others. They can also use the opportunity to generate petty incidents: blowing noses ostentatiously, throwing paper or missiles of one sort or another, getting up to look out of the window. Many incidents give the impression of calculated challenges to the authority of the teacher. They are all performed with a wary eye on his or her location and degree of surveillance. If reprimanded, the offender affects an air of injured innocence, and plays to the gallery for support of his peers. Even here, there is implied conflict and tension, this time with an authority figure.

(4) Summary

Interpersonal exchanges between boys and staff show a marked qualitative difference according to the situation in which they occur. Outside the formal teaching-learning situation, exchanges are relatively relaxed, friendly and informal. Inside them, the boys construe the act of interpersonal exchange as anxiety-producing, needing negotiation, bargaining and repeated challenges to the secular teacher's authority and pedagogical competence. Their degree is lessened if the teacher has clear competence, and authoritarian didactic style, and obvious knowledge of his subject matter which will all lead to success in the examinations that dominate the Academic Tradition. Similar challenges are levelled at the religious teacher, but their degree may be related more to his pedagogical competence and authority, rather than level of knowledge. In the majority of cases this can be assumed to be greater than that possessed by most boys. However, it does not prevent them from challenging the authenticity of the knowledge itself.

In contrast, interpersonal exchanges with non-teaching staff show few, if any, of the conflict-tension which characterizes the formal teaching-learning situations. We can tentatively hypothesize that it is the direct involvement with the transmission of the Traditions and their related bodies of knowledge that leads to their teachers encountering the types of behaviour discussed above.

Some support for the contrast is available from the interpersonal exchanges between the boys themselves. Those in informal situations may be excitable and noisy, but lack the deliberate aggression, conflict and violence against person and property that characterize exchanges in the formal teaching-learning situation. It may be that their dynamics generate the boys' behavioural styles.

When analysing the data on boys' behaviours assembled over the year, there is a danger that the observer refuses to recognize the obviously bizarre elements and even pathological conditions present in his subjects. Spindler's comment on the anthropologist's weakness has force here: 'He fails to see complications and looks for integrating features, consistencies, and values where there are none' (1963: 259). The more the observer becomes immersed in his subject matter, the greater becomes the reluctance to admit anything unusual about behavioural styles. To be as objective as possible in this case, comments of boys themselves on their own behaviour, and comments of other staff have been given to corroborate what was observed. The evidence is quite clear and unequivocal that many interpersonal exchanges, which take place in teaching-learning situations associated with the transmission of either Tradition, are tense, anxious, aggressive and often conflict-prone. In contrast, those outside such situations show far fewer symptoms of this nature, but are much more friendly, informal and relaxed.

CHAPTER 12

CONSTRUCTIONS OF ESTEEM CRITERIA IN THE PEER GROUP

Classrooms are micro-cosms which can mirror the school as a whole. In them can be found attitudes towards those in authority similar to those that are exhibited throughout the school in general. More informal peer group networks can also reveal the criteria on which interpersonal exchanges are based. The way boys choose their leaders, behave towards each other in task-oriented groups, form cliques with some boys and reject others, can all be useful indicators of what they value as the basis of the typifications that guide their interpersonal relationships. An attempt to establish such criteria of esteem at the school and Form levels is made in this chapter.

(1) Formal status arrangements in the school - prefects and houses

(a) Prefect system

Following the pattern of the traditional Independent school, Lubavitcher School has a prefect system and a house system. The former was introduced some years before the study by the senior master, in a bid to improve the status and image of the school in the eyes of the Jewish community by giving it something of the 'public school' character. The latter had been formed, also some years earlier, by a non-Jewish master who had had experience of the house system in his previous Independent school.

The prefect system constitutes five prefects from the sixth Form and five probationer prefects from the fifth Form. This distribution was an experiment for the year of the study. There is no clear cut body of rules to guide the duties of these officials, but only a vague notion of what 'everybody knows' prefects do in public schools. The prefects were given power to act on their own initiative to keep boys in order, maintain the tone of the school, and generally assist staff in the performance of supervisory duties at school functions. At their inauguration ceremony, they were cautioned to use their newly-granted authority equitably, and to bear in mind the dictum that 'power corrupts'. In his speech of thanks to the school assembly and the senior master, who gave the advice, one of the prefects solemnly affirmed its appropriateness, and promised on behalf of the prefects to uphold the tone of the school.

Despite this auspicious beginning, the prefect system failed to function properly. The probationary prefects had a few definite tasks to perform, such as checking classrooms during the lunchtime, but they amounted to little of substance. In consequence the system languished. The boys regarded it as a bit of a joke, and even the prefects themselves were sceptical of their usefulness. The system was abandoned in the following year, and all members of the sixth Form were re-constituted into a Students' Council, in which each of them had some definite participation.

(b) House system

Originally the house system constituted two houses, Zion and Jerusalem, which operate purely as a vehicle for arranging sport and games competition within the school. House points are awarded towards the champion house, which is traditionally announced at the end of the year on Speech Night. When the system started, all boys belonged to one or the other house, but so much apathy developed during the year that the Grade level up to which boys participated in house activities was progressively reduced, on the assumption that boys in the senior part of the school were finding it difficult to participate due to pressure from academic work. At the time of this study, the house system was confined to members of Forms 1 and 2, together with the Grades of the primary school. It was thought that these levels would retain enthusiasm for their houses, and work hard competitively to amass points through participation in sports and games. However, even here the system flourished spasmodically, and interest waned during the year.

(2) Some reasons for the decline of the formal status arrangements

Thus, two systems which might have supplemented the general authority system failed to function satisfactorily, and we might put forward a number of reasons to explain this. The personal inadequacies of many of the senior boys can account for something of the failure, though cannot explain why the house system failed to flourish in lower Grades. At the first staff meeting for 1969, the selection of prefects was discussed with much shaking of heads and bemoaning the fact that, in general, the senior boys were a weak lot. The prefect system was seen then as a way of inculcating desirable backbone and community consciousness into boys, who lacked the gumption to develop such virtues independently.

There was also a virtual lack of any explicitly codified body of rules and sanctions for the prefects to operate. The diffuse nature of the school, arising out of its small, intimate size and relaxed staff-pupil relationships, made such a code unnecessary. It might even be questioned whether the formal institution of prefect is necessary in a school where all boys are known personally by their teachers, and the intense factionalism and rivalry a house system can lead to is largely mitigated by the warmth and close relationships generated by kinship ties and the religious sub-community.

House systems also occasionally operate as pastoral care units in which the house master or house mistress knows each member of the house, and exercises considerable control over those in it. This control is not only directed to striving for success in inter-house sports, but extends to considerations such as personal counselling, vocational guidance and even to spiritual advice in sorting out emotional problems. However, such responsibilities belong to the rabbis and the Principal; the secular staff are not involved.

Some members of the staff took an interest in running after-school and lunchtime activities, including games such as table tennis, which counted towards house points. Prefects and probationers were used to assist the staff where possible, but it quickly became obvious that, when all was said and done, they had little to do, and these activities gradually declined.

We might also advance two explanations along cultural lines for the failure of the two systems. Firstly, the introduction of prefects and houses represents a cultural transplant from one Tradition into another (the Great Tradition) where an ethos exists, which almost inevitably ensures its rejection. Jewish egalitarianism, lack of emphasis on competitive sports, and the existence of a supportive climate in the school make such systems unnecessary and even antipathic to the ethos. Secondly, such systems depend on the support of the pupils. The Jewish boys may not have seen the systems as contributing to the 'real' purpose of the school as they construed it, i.e. learning and study, which are emphasized by both Traditions. Support for the latter explanation can be found in the way status arrangements are regarded at the Form level. Here it is clearer what criteria merit esteem and boys' support.

(3) Status recognition at the Form level

A Form captain and vice Form captain are the main status positions commonly differentiated at the Form level in Independent schools. Particularly in the lower Grades of a school, though less so in the senior Grades, election of boys to such positions by their peers is a measure of the esteem in which they are held, and also of the boys' willingness to accept their instructions (Shipman, 1968: 85). Such Form institutions are lower order replicas of more senior positions within the school's student authority and prefect system.

In this there is the status of school captain or senior prefect, who leads a body of prefects with certain traditionally or explicitly defined powers over the rest of the student body. As well as the school captain or senior prefect, there is often a vice school captain or joint senior prefect to share in and assist with the responsibility.

(a) Form structures in the Middle and Senior School

In each of the school's four Middle School and Senior School Forms there is provision for the election of a Form captain and vice Form captain. Such elections take place by tradition rather than an explicit school rule at the beginning of each Term. The voting methods vary, but usually some type of preferential voting is used to give an air of pseudo-democracy to proceedings. During the year in Form four, the captaincy was held by two boys, elected by a preferential voting system in which boys were asked to nominate three choices in order of preference. The ballot was secret.

Voting was not conducted very seriously by the boys, and a great deal of joking took place, with pointed remarks to the effect that they would elect someone '*they* could run'. One boy in particular, who turned out to be the ultimate choice, came in for many comments of this nature. They would elect him they said, because he wouldn't be able to keep control. A feature of voting was the very large number of candidates proposed - over three quarters of the class - and the closeness of the final decision.

The boy elected as captain in Term 1 was indeed weak as a leader and had little, if any, ability to control the others in the absence of a teacher. From the silliness that took place it was obvious that he was looked upon as one of the Form comics, an easy-going disciplinarian, and, by implication, not the type of Form captain I was looking for. A similar pattern was seen in Form three where the captain chosen was its well-known clown with neither academic nor leadership potential, but with a natural ability in sport.

In Form five the boy chosen was similarly weak in academic ability and deficient in leadership drive. Again, his election seemed to give the other boys a great deal of amusement. As one of them, a known bully and standover persecutor, said to me sneeringly half in earnest, half in joke: 'We elected him because he'll do as we tell him, otherwise he'll get a bashing'.

In contrast to this attitude some improvement was noted in Form four in the second and third Terms. By this time some *esprit de corps* had begun to develop, partly as a result of several sessions of vigorous 'ticking off' from the Form master. The boy elected in Term two was of a different calibre altogether at first sight. Among the top three or four in academic ability and with an apparent sense of serious responsibility, it seemed that he could be relied on to exert authority and leadership. He was re-elected by a narrower margin in Term three.

However, few occasions were noted when he carried out any of the duties associated with the status. Usually he did so at the express orders of a teacher, or in circumstances when such was the rowdiness in the class, that someone had to take some action to avert absolute chaos. Even then he acted only when he noticed he was being watched by a teacher.

On several occasions he was seen taking an active part in the rowdy indiscipline that usually plagued one particular teacher, and made no effort to back up his attempts to control the class. By his election the due process of school rules had been carried out, but the matter ended there. The boy's construction of the behaviours appropriate to the status-role of captain did not match the commonly accepted notions more usual in the Academic Tradition. In this respect Form four was basically similar to the other two Forms.

(b) Weaknesses in the formal structures

Explanations like those used for the diffuse and ineffective student authority structure of the school as a whole might also be applied to the basically similar phenomenon at the Form level. Egalitarianism, lack of a parallel school captain and strong prefect system as examples, small size of the Forms, and lack of organized sporting or competitive activities calling for leadership, all militate against developing a viable institution of Form captain along lines of other schools.

Jewish cultural life style may also be reflected in the lack of respect for the office, and unwillingness to follow the directions or recommendations of its incumbent. A traditional Jewish joke has it that where there are two Jews there are three opinions. Any opinion emanating from the holder of such an office as Form captain in a Jewish school might be expected to face more than the usual opposition Form captains can experience in non-Jewish establishments. In Form four alone, for instance, instead of two, there were twenty Jews!

There is very little consensus of opinion regarding the functions of the role incumbents in the status positions that are provided for in the school. This may reflect the religious nature of the school, the frequent changes of staff, and the many part-time staff with little interest in the school as a corporate body. All of these may have precluded the evolution of a stable student authority system with a clear code of norms to guide behaviours. Equally lacking is a clear guiding ideology from a headmaster.

Instead there is a diffuse system, in which the duties of student officials are very vaguely defined. For instance, there does not appear to be even a tradition, let alone explicit ruling, that a Form captain or his deputy should exercise anything other than mere token authority when the teacher is absent from the class. There are few specific tasks that are regularly performed. In the fifth and sixth Forms the attendance rolls were marked by the Form captains. This was not the case in Form four as the job was done so poorly, by my standards, that I did it myself.

Lacking any formalised inter-Form competition in sport, there is little occasion for the Form captain to exercise a morale and team building function. About the only formal task performed by my Form captain was to draw up a roster of monitors with delegated duties to tidy up the class, put religious books away, clean the blackboard, and attend to similar minor chores. However the responsibility ended there. During the whole year, few instances were noted where the Form captain overtly exercised authority to make sure that such delegated tasks were in fact performed, and frequently they were neglected.

In such a religious school it might be thought that the Form captain leads religious activities such as prayer sessions when conducted on a Form basis. This was not the case, at least in Form four. On both occasions when the Form was observed praying together, boys other than the Form or vice captain led prayers. One of them was encouraged to do so because his style of praying differed from the remainder, and it appeared that the other boys wanted to test his ability to lead the session. On the other occasion a quiet but nonetheless respected boy led the prayers because of his acknowledged skill and knowledge. As the year progressed a body of prayer leaders from senior Forms was constituted to conduct the *Minchah* prayer at lunchtime in the various locations where it is held. Again, Form captains did not feature among them.

(4) Informal relationships and criteria of esteem at the Form level

In contrast to its formal structure, a class can have an informal structure (Shipman, 1968: 136), which contains small cliques with their own norms and structures. The expectations and behaviours of members in such cliques are often at variance with those of the school authority figures (Gordon, 1968). There is a difference of opinion on the influences which affect the structure of such informal groups. Ford has suggested (1969: 76) that informal relations are shaped by children's social class of origin and their class of aspiration. Evans (1962: 40 ff.), on the other hand, has cited a number of studies which appear to show that children make the friendship choices they do because of personal qualities rather than on a basis of socio-economic or other extraneous factors. Qualities such as skills, abilities, achievements and personality traits have been isolated as important.

(a) Criteria of esteem in third and fourth Forms

Boys in Middle and Senior School come from broadly similar middle-class socio-economic backgrounds, as has been shown in Chapter 10 above. We can thus discount their influence on the way boys construct criteria for peer group esteem in the classroom. Class of aspiration is also likely to have little influence, as the boys are already members of a class to which others generally aspire. We can thus look for criteria, which are intrinsic to the peer groups, rather than extrinsic. Opportunities to do so arose naturally during the year under circumstances outlined in Appendix 1, when sociometric surveys could be employed without undue fear that they would be seen as abnormal by the boys, with consequent contamination of the data they provided.

Limitations of this type of analysis have been pointed out by several workers (Moreno, 1953, 1960; Madge, 1953: 35; Sprott, 1958: 44;

Oppenheim, 1966: 240; Morrison & McIntyre, 1969: 114), who caution against placing too much reliance on results. However, they do provide corroborative data to support other evidence, and can be used with some confidence here. In the following discussion, the terminology used broadly follows Evans (1962). A *star* is a boy who receives a large number of choices from his peers, including at least one choice from a boy outside his immediate clique. A *neglectee* is a boy who is chosen by nobody but makes choices himself. There are also *isolates*: boys who do not make choices, but who may not be explicitly rejected by others. A *rejectee* is explicitly rejected by many.

The sociograms to form 'research' groups to tour the annual agricultural show establish the existence of an isolate in third Form, who makes a cross-boundary choice of an isolate from fourth Form as his companion. Form three has a more fragmented preference structure than Form four, where there are two large groups which absorb fifty percent of those attending the show (Appendix 7.1).

The sociograms drawn up to establish groups to work on the major project in fourth Form throw some light on the preference structures for the show (Appendices 7.2-7.4). Two types of sociograms were used: two asked boys to state choices for work groups; the third asked boys to state those with whom they did not wish to work. Two patterns emerged. The first is the large number of stars of varying degrees of strength. The second is the group of four boys who are clear rejectees together with one boy who is an isolate through his marked rejection of others. The preference structure in fourth Form for the show is now seen as including a dyad composed of two rejectees and the boy who is an isolate, and makes a cross-boundary choice possibly because he is rejected by his peers. The structures for the project also indicate that some boys have re-aligned themselves with stars.

A possible explanation for the consistent preferences of the unchanged clique, the re-alignments, and the rejection pattern lies in the types of tasks set. For the agricultural show, the boys were asked to complete a very minor assignment carrying few marks. Consequently they knew that the exercise was more or less a formality, and would not need much effort or ability to complete. On the other hand, the project was a demanding exercise, and carried the remaining 75% of the cumulative marks for Term 3. For this it was clearly advantageous to seek alliance with the 'brains' in the class, rather than with congenial companions more suitable for touring around the show. There is some supporting evidence for this.

As part of the C.S.S.E. assessment at the fourth Form level the headmaster's ratings of pupils are taken into account. It was my responsibility to work these out using Term 1 examination results. The scores in all school subjects were standardized, and those for the best five subjects summed. Using these totals an academic rank order of the Form was obtained. With the one exception noted, this is shown below together with each boy's status in the project sociogram.

Some relationship between 'brains' and high sociogram ranking is obvious, as well as low ranking with lesser ability. However, it should be noted that boys' *perceptions* of 'brains' may be the basis for ranking rather than any one boy's innate ability. For instance, when the final results of the C.S.S.E. were made available, number 20, who ranked fifteenth in ability in school subjects, was found to be of almost scholarship standard when the A.C.E.R. stanines were ranked and compared. There are other anomalies, for which impressionistic explanations must be advanced. Numbers 9, 7 and 12 do not receive star status, despite their obvious ability. Two of them, i.e. numbers 7 and 12 are extremely religious, the latter militantly so. Number 9

TABLE 12.1

ACADEMIC RANKING IN BEST FIVE SUBJECTS AND SOCIOMETRIC STATUS OF FORM FOUR BOYS IN THE PROJECT SOCIOGRAMS

Rank order in best five subjects	Sociogram identification number	Sociogram status
1	4	Star
2	12	
=3	10	Star
=3	11	Star
5	9	
6	7	
7	2	Star
8	5	Star
9	6	Star
10	14	
*11	8	Star
=12	3	Star
=12	1	Star
14	18	Rejectee
15	20	Rejectee
16	17	Rejectee
17	19	Neglectee
18	15	
19	13	
20	16	Rejectee

*Assessment based on comparison of rank order of Term 3 examination results, as this boy was assessed for C.S.S.E. purposes at another school.

has a suspicious, 'prickly' nature. The lower academic ability of numbers 15 and 13 does not result in them becoming rejectees. Neither is a neglectee similar to number 19. The former was not noted for being very religious. On the other hand, the latter took an active part in Lubavitcher Youth work.

Despite all the effort put into the sociogram to find compatible groups to work on the project, the arrangements very quickly broke down in practice. The boys couldn't work in groups they complained, and spent a great part of their time arguing. As a result they asked to work in pairs or on their own. The resultant re-alignment again shows interesting relationships, which are summarized in the following table.

There are few shifts in alliances. The majority of pairs gave reciprocated preferences on the sociogram. One pair is made up of a rejectee and another boy for whom he expressed a preference, which was not reciprocated. Two pairs are fresh alliances, probably made when the boys in them saw that their sociogram preferences had made other alliances with more favoured partners. Two boys confirm their rejectee status by choosing to work on their own. Of interest is the fact that in only one case (numbers 1 and 3) are boys of equal or near-equal ability paired together. It seems that the more able are chosen by the less able, or choose to work with and assist the less able on the project.

The evidence is far from conclusive to be able to state with confidence that 'brains' play the major part in determining sociometric status, although there seems little doubt that they rank high as a component in a boy's attraction for others. Only impressionistic data are available to support the hypothesis that a boy's religiosity may also be an attraction, but here it seems that the quality of religiosity is more important rather than mere religious behaviour itself. For instance, numbers 5, 6, 7, 8 are

TABLE 12.2

WORKING GROUP RE-ARRANGEMENTS FOR FORM FOUR PROJECT

Re-arrangement	Academic rank order and sociogram status
*1 and 3	Equal 12th, both Stars
*2 and 4	8th (Star) and 1st (Star)
*5 and 8	6th (Star) and 11th (Star)
*6 and 7	10th (Star) and 5th
*9 and 10	7th and =3rd (Star)
**11 and 16	=3rd (Star) and 20th (Rejectee)
**12 and 19	2nd and 17th (Neglectee)
+ 14 and 15	11th and 18th
17	16th (Rejectee)
20	15th (Rejectee)

Notes

*Reciprocated preference on sociogram.

**No preferences expressed on sociogram.

+ One way preference 18——13.

all quietly pious boys. Their preferences for each other are unchanged since being empirically established for the show visit. On the other hand, what might be termed 'busy religiosity' of an obvious, militant type does not attract preferences or alliances. This may underlie the pairing of numbers 12 and 19, and numbers 13 and 18, yet even boys in these pairs are not immune to the apparent tensions which 'busy religiosity' may generate. After a number of comments about religious duties from number 12 during a geography lesson, number 19 yelled in annoyance across the classroom 'why don't you shut up, for a change, *yeshivah bocher*'.[1]

In the sociometric preference structures there may also be a clue to the lack of a strong authority hierarchy in the Form, which was noted earlier about the election of Form captain. With so many stars in the Form, no boy stands out as being the obvious leader, hence the large number of names proposed for the Form captain and the closeness of the voting. In Term 1, the boy chosen was ranked low on the best five subjects ranking, was not a star, and could not be termed religious in comparison with many others. In Terms 2 and 3, the boy chosen was a star, belonged to the quietly pious religious group, and ranked well up in the best five subjects ranking. He was an active participant in the ball games held in the school yard, but did not obviously shine at these like some of the others, although he took an active part. Yet there was still an apparent lack of those leadership qualities one traditionally looks for in a Form captain.

(b) Criteria of esteem in fifth Form

In contrast, the sociogram of the preference structure of Form 5 shows a more fragmented pattern (Appendix 7.5). No firm groupings emerge either in aversions or preferences, even though boys were asked to choose two others for a field work trip and to indicate any aversions. There are no exclusive triads - the maximum sized group that could form in this case. A number of minor stars are apparent, though these have to be identified on the grounds of receiving three or more preferences. Numbers 2, 7, 9 and 10 have star status on these criteria. Numbers 7 and 9 are clearly centres of attraction. There are no outright rejectees. Numbers 5, 11 and 14 appear to be neglectees: their choices are not reciprocated, but neither are they explicitly rejected. Number 11 is an interesting parallel to number 19 in the fourth Form sociograms, as he is a neglectee possibly due to his rejection of others. Together with the self-chosen isolate, there are four neglectees out of a total of fifteen boys in the group.

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[1] *Yeshivah bocher* (Yidd.) 'Yeshivah student'. The term traditionally applied to students of the classical *yeshivot* of Eastern Europe prior to their collapse under Nazi and earlier persecutions.

To what extent is the fourth Form pattern followed with the stars there are coinciding with academic ability? In this case, scores for best five subjects were not available, and it is only possible to rank those boys I took for geography on the basis of this subject only. In the Table below the geography scores for the first and second Term examinations have been summed, and these totals used as the basis on which to rank the boys.

Two stars stand out above the others, holding first and second places on academic order of ranking in the subject. Another star holds fifth position on this order. Two neglectees and the self-selected isolate, whose frequent absences from lessons were notorious, hold the bottom three academic positions.

Once again, however, there are apparent anomalies, for which impressionistic explanations must be used. Although relatively low in ability, number 10 earns star status by his capacity for hard work and easy-going, friendly nature. In contrast the completely different temperament of

TABLE 12.3

ACADEMIC RANKING IN GEOGRAPHY EXAMINATIONS AND SOCIOMETRIC STATUS - FORM FIVE

Rank order in geography	Sociogram identification number	Sociogram status
1	2	Star
2	9	Star
=3	8	
=3	1	
5	7	Star
6	12	
=7	5	Rejectee
=7	6	
9	4	
10	10	Star
11	13	
12	3	
13	11	Rejectee
=14	14	Rejectee
=14	Abs. in sociogram	Self-chosen isolate

number 7 does not earn him rejection. Despite his wild nature and annoying habit of compulsively interrupting lessons to ask questions, or make stupid, attention-bidding comments he is clearly a star. 'Brains' seem to have some attraction here.

As in Form four, the sociometric preferences bear little relation to the apparent authority structure of the Form. Its captain is in the geography group but is neither academic nor a star. Those ranked highest in academic ability as stars are of contrasting leadership ability. One took the leading role in the Lubavitcher Youth business transactions described below. The other was the obvious academic leader in the group, and from the many comments of his peers was clearly regarded as a 'brain'. But he did not exercise any obvious authority, and preferred to remain quiet and withdrawn on the many occasions when something might have been said or done to curb others' unruly behaviour.

Remaining neutral in this way still did not save him from the attention of number 12, who frequently appeared to resent his knowledge and ability. Hostility was verbal and derisive. On one occasion, strikingly similar to the incident in Form four, it took the form of an explicit reference to the star's religious affiliation. A discussion on a geographical problem had been in progress and number 9 had made a particularly pertinent comment. This earned number 12's immediate attack, shouted across the classroom: 'You're pretty good, *magyar*, now shut up'.[2]

An obvious explanation for lack of clear leaders may be that my geography class was only part of the fifth Form as a whole. Had it been possible to have access to all of it, I might have been able to establish a clearer picture of its preference structure, which would have incorporated boys in the geography class. Despite this, there is an apparent relationship between star ranking and 'brains', while the position of the isolates and neglectees can be interpreted on the basis of lack of 'brains'.

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[2] *Magyar* - an oblique reference to the Hungarian origin of the ultra-Orthodox congregation to which number 12 belonged.

There is also some evidence to suggest that personality factors and other non-academic skills play a part in establishing a boy's position in the preference structure. For instance, as Clausen has suggested (1968: 168): 'The overly aggressive boy may be accepted as a leader in many activities, but not chosen as a friend'. Number 12, the most aggressive boy in the class, receives some preferences, but they are insufficient to make him a star, despite his above average ranking on academic ability. He is explicitly rejected by one boy, who had some authority as a probationer prefect, but was made the butt of much of his physical and verbal aggression. Another violent boy in this Form is a star, yet is almost comparable in academic ability. However, the other stars are more even tempered and non-aggressive.

Clausen's notion finds less support in Form four. Probably the most aggressive boy ranks close to the bottom of the Form in academic ability, and is an isolate. Another quite aggressive boy is also low in academic ranking, and is a rejectee. No boy with a markedly aggressive disposition receives star preference.

(5) Constructions of the 'good' student ('Paul')

Sociometric analysis is necessarily limited to clearly defined teaching-learning situations. What may be seen as desirable qualities to cope with them may not be the same qualities boys would wish to see in their peers under more general circumstances in the school. As part of the fourth Formers' practice sessions for the C.S.S.E. I set a number of essays, including a sentence completion test (Appendix 2.2). This relates to a fictional boy, Paul, and how he is regarded by his peers, authority figures in his school, and by his parents. All boys in Form four completed the exercise. Their answers are compared with those of a fourth Form of comparable academic ability in a neighbouring Church of England boys school. These boys were also preparing for the C.S.S.E., and provide an excellent control sample, being matched with the Jewish boys in socio-economic status and the neighbourhood catchment area from which they come.

Despite this, considerable care must be exercised in interpreting data. Some contaminating variables could not be eliminated from the situation under which the test was administered to the control sample. In the case of the Jewish fourth Form, more reliance can be placed on answers, as the test was given as one of a series of exercises for the C.S.S.E., and was accepted by the boys in this light. Answers to projective technique instruments have questionable reliability - a problem which is discussed in Appendix 1 - but in this case do show quite significant differences between the two samples, in relation to the way boys construct the qualities that gain friendship from Paul's peers, and in other aspects of his school life. No significant patterns emerged in the answers relating to parents and the subsequent reflections of Paul after he had gone to bed. In the main, the answers to these sections of the test tended to follow the theme of the discussion between the two teachers.

(a) Characteristics leading to friendship

The first question asked, in effect, why Paul made friends quickly. The following table summarizes the reasons given by both samples of boys, using categories devised from content analysis of the answers.

TABLE 12.4

QUALITIES SEEN AS GAINING FRIENDSHIP FOR THE FICTIONAL CHARACTER, PAUL

Paul's qualities	Jewish boys (*n* = 21)	Church of England boys (*n* = 26)
A. Innate Qualities		
1. Sensible, down to earth	2	3
2. Sincerity	1	1
3. Sense of humour, wit, cheerfulness	3	2
4. *Good character traits (Decency, honesty, goodness, likeability, good natured, quiet manner, nice)	0	9
B. Performance-Oriented Qualities		
1. Intellectual ability and application to study	10 (47.6%)	3 (11.5%)
2. Physical and sporting prowess	3	2
C. Other-Directed Qualities		
1. Friendliness, open and extrovert behaviour, easy to get on with, popular	6 (28.6%)	14 (53.6%)
2. Good mannered, respectful, kind and considerate of others	2 (9.5%)	8 (30.7%)
3. Common interest with peers, gets on with them	1	1
4. Willingness to help peers	3	2
5. Leadership qualities	2	2
6. Ability to make use of opportunities and friendship	1 (4.8%)	4 (15.2%)
7. Ability at flattery	1	-
D. Institution-Oriented Qualities		
1. Conformity with school regulations; advances interests of school	1 (4.8%)	3 (11.4%)
2. Ability to carry out deviant acts against school and teachers	4 (19.0%)	1 (3.8%)
E. Environmental Factors, etc.		
1. Father very rich	1	-
2. Knew similar boys from neighbourhood, or boys like him	2	2

Of interest are the descriptors of Paul used by the boys from the Church of England school which are not used by the Jewish boys, and do not fall easily into the common categories. These are indicated by an asterisk in Category A4.

(b) Analysis of answers and comparisons with control sample

Despite the phrasing of the question, which stressed that Paul made *friends* quickly, there is a clear difference between the two samples regarding the qualities gaining friendship. Four times as many answers from the Jewish boys stress intellectual ability compared with the control sample. Boys from the Church of England school place much more emphasis on innate and other-directed qualities, that logically would make for gaining friends. When the percentages in the latter category are totalled, three times as many answers from the control group stress other-directed qualities than the Jewish group. In the institution-oriented category, there is a consistent pattern. Twice as many answers from the Church of England sample place value on conformity with school regulations compared with answers from the Jewish boys. On the other hand, five times as many of the Jewish answers see friendship in terms of ability to carry out deviant acts against the school and teachers as the control sample.

Answers within the other-directed and institution-directed categories support the impressionistic and sociometric data relating to boys' attitudes to staff and peers, which have been established in this and the previous chapter. Good manners, respect for, and consideration of others do not rank as highly in the Jewish answers as in those from the control sample. Here there would appear to be some confirmation of the nature of interpersonal relations with peers and teachers within the classroom. The same devaluation of the personal qualities of friendliness, open and extrovert behaviour, ease of getting on with others, and popularity suggest that the Jewish boys do not construct friendship in these terms, compared with the control group.

The value placed by the Jewish boys on deviant acts and lack of conformity with school regulations is also consistent with what was established about their interpersonal relations with teachers and others in authority. From the original answer sheets it is clear what character traits the Jewish boys value. Paul has success in gaining friendship because of mischievous pranks played on teachers; ability to pick on teachers' weak points and point them out to the teachers; standing up for his rights against teachers, and playing up in class. In this category, the quality gaining friendship most often stated by boys in the control sample is ability to 'stir' masters.

A surprising feature of the answers from the Church of England school is the low value placed on sporting prowess, despite the school's high reputation in all the sports organized by the group of Associated Public Schools in Melbourne. From firsthand acquaintance with the school, I expected this to be an admired quality. Supporting evidence of school *esprit de corps* is to be found, however, in the collectivity-oriented attitudes of the Church of England answers in category D, although the number of answers is still not high.

(c) Types of people commenting about Paul

The second question in the same test asked boys to imagine a conversation between two unidentified members of staff about the fictional character, Paul. Of some interest here are the persons the boys chose to fill the roles, and the tenor of the conversation between them. The following table summarizes the choice of persons.

TABLE 12.5

TYPES OF PERSONS COMMENTING ABOUT PAUL

	Jewish boys (*n* = 21)	Church of England boys (*n* = 26)
A. School staff		
Headmaster	2	5
Deputy Headmaster/Principal	-	2
Mathematics Master	4	4
Science Master	3	7
Geography Master	3	-
English Master	1	7
History Master	5	1
Commercial Subjects Teacher	1	-
Religious Studies Teacher	5	8
Teacher (subject unspecified)	3	9
Female Teacher	-	1
Hebrew Teacher	1	-
Rabbi of community	1	-
Form Master	3	1
Sports Master	2	-
Housemaster	-	1
B. Miscellaneous 'fantasy' or fictional characters		
School 'characters'	6	6
People unconnected with school	2	-

(d) Analysis of answers and comparisons with control sample

Perhaps the most significant feature of the choices in both schools is the concentration on masters who teach the types of subjects associated with the Academic Tradition rather than those teaching such non-academic subjects as art, music, and drama which are all available in the Church of England school in one form or other. A surprising omission in this school is reference to the sports master, and sport as a major topic of conversation about Paul. Some differences in figures reflect the structural differences between the two schools: no deputy headmaster in the Jewish school, but a Hebrew teacher and community rabbi not found in the other school.

(e) Types of comments made about Paul by school personnel

The fictional characters had a great deal to say about Paul, most of it quite logical within the imaginary context of the exercise. School staff who commented on him made only five comments which were out of character. These have been put in a 'fantasy comment' category. All such remarks were in the Church of England sample. Comments of people outside the school, or what were termed 'fantasy' or fictional characters in the previous table, have not been included in what follows. This table makes a basic division between favourable and unfavourable comments in a number of categories. Where relevant, each category in the favourable section has a counterpart in the other section.

TABLE 12.6

TYPES OF COMMENTS MADE ABOUT PAUL BY SCHOOL PERSONNEL

Types of comments	Number of comments	
	Jewish school	Church of England school
A. Favourable comments		
Academic performance - has merit, ability, good attitude, etc.	19 (59.4%)	25 (53.2%)
Responsibility potential - will make a leader, contributes well to school in sport or by example	2	1
Relations with staff - popularity with staff stated or implied, mannerly, co-operative, helpful	3 (9.4%)	10 (21.3%)
Relations with peers - popular with peers, makes friends easily, relates well, helps and influences others constructively	4 (12.5%)	8 (17.0%)
Excuses for conduct - exonerations of deviant acts by Paul, support expressed for him	4	3
TOTALS	32 (65.3%)	47 (74.6%)
B. Unfavourable comments		
Academic performance - work well below standard, low ability	4	1
Relations with staff - poor class behaviour, critical of teacher, 'stirring', distracting, cheeky, fooling and joking, etc.	7 (41.2%)	11 (68.7%)
Relations with peers - unpopular due to deviant acts against them or pandering to teacher	5	4
Reasons for conduct - unstable	1	-
TOTALS	17 (34.7%)	16 (25.4%)
C. 'Fantasy' comments by teachers	-	5

(f) Analysis of answers and comparisons with control sample

From the total figures it is quite clear that Paul is seen more in favourable terms than unfavourable by boys from both schools: 65.3 percent of the total comments from the Jewish school and 74.6 percent from the Church of England school are favourable. The fantasy comments from the latter have been excluded. The Jewish boys see Paul in a less favourable light, although they give Paul more favourable comments about his academic performance than do boys in the control sample. The Jewish boys' concern with academic performance is also apparent when favourable and unfavourable comments in this category are added, and are seen as percentages of the total comments made in each school. Jewish boys have their characters making 46.9 percent of their comments about academic performance, while the other sample makes 41.3 percent. Once again there is the greater concern with academic matters that we have noted consistently in both impressionistic and other data.

Also consistent with previous data, Jewish boys place less value on popularity with teachers and peers. In the case of the former, 21.3 percent of comments from the Church of England sample in comparison with 9.4 percent of comments from the Jewish boys relate to favourable opinions about Paul's good relations with members of staff. The same pattern is evident regarding relationships with peers. Fewer of the Jewish boys answers (12.5 percent) compared with the control sample (17.0 percent) relate to the popularity of Paul with his peers. More of the Jewish answers refer to his unpopularity, although the difference between the two samples is small. On the other hand, more of the control sample answers relate to Paul's unpopularity with teachers (68.7 percent) in comparison with the Jewish sample (41.2 percent).

(6) Summary

In this chapter a number of sociometric, impressionistic and projective measures have identified the way the sample of boys in the Jewish school construct the criteria of esteem accorded to their peers and authority figures in school. Esteem is accorded to peers on the grounds of academic ability: sociometric star ranking correlates well with 'brains'. Religious abilities are also seen to be important, but rank below 'brains'. Aggression does not seem to be a criterion for gaining esteem, although the evidence in this respect is less conclusive. The result of projective measures confirms the concern of the Jewish boys with academic success and learning ability. The hypothetical student, Paul, is successful in making friends by virtue of his intellectual capacity rather than any other factor. Teachers' comments about Paul also tend to stress his intellectual capacity and other academic matters.

Data are also consistent about the pattern already established regarding interpersonal relationships between the Jewish boys and their peers and teachers. There is some support for sociometric data, which indicates the lack of clear leaders to undertake positions of responsibility at the Form level. Respect for authority, conformity to school rules, and the maintenance of friendly relationships with peers are also undervalued in comparison with intellectual achievement. In contrast, a control sample from the Church of England school places more value on these aspects.

CHAPTER 13

CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE SELF AND FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

In the preceding chapter something of the boys' criteria of esteem for conducting interpersonal relationships has been established. Despite their recognized imperfections, the research procedures used have enabled the subjects to speak for themselves to some extent. The picture that has emerged thus lies somewhere on a continuum between the 'external logic' of the observer and the 'inner logic' of the observed. This chapter moves further towards reducing the influence of the external observer, so that the boys reveal more of their selves (Cicourel, 1973: 25).

It can be hypothesized that the behavioural patterns we have noted are compounded of both other-directed and self-directed interactions. In focussing now on the latter, the assumption is made that boys' behaviour will be governed by their constructions of the self, both in relation to present reality and a postulated future. 'The human being can designate things to himself - his wants, his pains, his goals, objects around him, the presence of others, their actions, their expected actions, or whatnot' (Blumer, 1971: 16).

(1) The self - what it means to be a Jew

The majority of boys in fourth Form were asked what it means to be a Jew. This direct question was put at the end of the year, when I had developed maximum rapport with the group. Apart from correcting spelling errors that might lead to faulty interpretation, I reproduce all answers verbatim, as any attempt at paraphrasing them would be to impose my own constructions of what they mean. The only 'external' influence is the three categories used to group answers: religious orientation, nationalistic or ethnic orientation, and uncommitted.

(a) The religious orientation towards being a Jew

The fact that I am a Jew does not mean anything to me but the fact that I am a ------- i.e. an observant Jew, makes me feel above any other nation or religion in the world.[1]

The people who are, unfortunately, in our days lax in their observances constitute to me as empty shells, but those who keep to the tradition of our elders are righteous. They do not cheat their elders who died in the 2nd War for the same thing their sons are forsaking. They are traitors.

But still, even if somebody was born a Jew, he has a different quality in him. He is more refined, more co-operative than the common 'mob' in whose midst we dwell in. Of course there are exceptions.

To sum this up, I, being an observant Jew, feel satisfied when doing the work and observing G-d's own law. To me being a Jew is something that is my highest asset.

* * *

To me to be Jewish does not mean to have a Jewish mother or to have a 'Yiddishe hartz' (lit. a Jewish heart). It means to be willing to sacrifice oneself completely to the Torah, i.e. to observe the Laws as well as to learn the ------- and -------. It means that I should go to school or work every day and deal fairly with my fellow men, not as the image of a Jew is today. It also means to go to shul not twice a year on ------- and ------- but to go every day 3 times a day even if it is inconvenient for me. It also means that a Jew should raise children ------- ------- (living in Torah).

* * *

Since I was born Jewish I have often thought about being a gentile but I can't imagine myself any other way but Jewish. To me, it means being a member of what I consider to be the true religion. I feel that being Jewish has made me slightly more respectful to other people than the average boy in the street is. I can see a meaning in life and the goal of great knowledge is something for me to strive for. I think that because of this meaning in life, the crime rate among Jewish people is so low. I feel that learning the Talmud and religious studies helps sharpen my brain to enable me to understand secular studies better.

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[1] Words in Hebrew script are indicated by dashes -------.

* * *

Jewishness is denoted by one thing only, the Jewish *religion*, i.e. the very fact which has made Abraham, Isaac and Jacob Jews, was their belief in monotheism and the piousness with which they approached daily life. So too, this religion and tradition has been passed down till this day. So to be Jewish in this age, I believe that the same requirements are necessary as were in the days of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob - the Jewish religion and tradition. I maintain that when a Jew keeps his religion, that his religion keeps him.

* * *

If you want I could talk in length about the greatness about the Jew spiritually and physically and explain how great the Jewish morals and ideals and intellect is, that is *Kabbalas Oil* i.e. accepting the Yoke of G-d without understanding everything. One doesn't have to understand what the use of being a use and what it means (*sic*). What is important is simply accepting everything what you have been taught by someone older, wiser and more knowledgeable than you and when this is accepted then one can start delving into spiritual things but with this study the intention is not to believe in G-d but to get a stronger clinging to Him.

* * *

To me it is a great honour to be born a Jew because I am endowed with a responsibility which in return for my observance I receive a safeguard against the bad things of this world.

It means that if I keep all the Mitzvot as many do there is less chance of corruption and sickness in my life. When I walk around with a skull cap I know that I must act according to the Torah to keep up my honour as a Jew.

I find great enjoyment in being a Jew because we have a Shabbos which only Jews can appreciate, there are times when we feel things we can not feel other times.

* * *

It means having a steady religion which does not change periodically as other religions do. It gives me something to believe in which is pretty reliable. It gives me hopes for certain things in the future. Although some people swear at us in the street I think these things can sometimes be forgotten.

* * *

To believe in G-d the holy one blessed be he.

* * *

On Saturday I have something to look forward to instead of just mucking around. When I say my prayers I say it with feeling. During school we are taught things that men of previous times taught to their disciples what to do what not. On Saturday we can't do any manner of work, not even drive an automatic car because you still cause work by turning the engine on.

* * *

It means to live a life governed by the Law and Spirit of the TORAH. It means sticking to a certain method of approaching anything. This is not just holding on to some laws but a complete ethical code. It means being one of the Jewish people. Yet a person can be Jewish even if he does not keep the religion. If he preserves his national background and culture he is still Jewish. But I believe that you can not lump this under categories. A person is Jewish if he believes he is.

* * *

All I can say is that it is the greatest thing ever to be a Jewish boy. You can always walk around knowing that you are different from others in that you have sets of laws that distinguish you from an animal and a man. You have laws for eating, sleeping, wearing of clothes and any other thing you can think of. I myself am not the most orthodox but I keep a few basic laws. I consider being Jewish as the greatest privilege of my life.

* * *

(b) The nationalistic orientation towards being a Jew

I feel proud of our tradition and history, in overcoming greater odds and opposition. A society only exists when there are restrictions, and we with our added restrictions feel some unexplainable feeling of success.

I feel proud to be a Jew when one of my fellow religionists name appears in a paper. We all feel united.

* * *

To me it is a big honour knowing and believing that the Jewish people are different from all other peoples. The closeness of our people, as was shown in the 1967 emergency. I think honestly that every person in our nation at one time or another has a feeling for religion. If anyone can name a people that has oppressed so much over the centuries (*sic*) and yet has been able to survive and flourish I will then admit that our nation is a normal one. Let's take a festival such as we are celebrating at the moment Chanuka. When an oppressed people rose up and defeated the enemies who outnumbered us. It means to me a sincere believe in G-d.

To built up a state after being oppressed not less than 3 to 4 years early shows our sincere hope not to be broken up.

* * *

To me it means a lot of things to be Jewish and I am by no means impartial to the fact. What I do all do, how I think is basically governed by my Jewishness. This doesn't mean every minute of the day - I am affected, in some ways greatly, by my environment and by things not Jewish. But after reading about the massacres and sufferings Jews underwent under the Egyptians, the Syrians I feel that I am here to keep the tradition alive and to carry on in doing my tiny part in keeping the Jewish nation living.

After all the hardships we've gone through I would go round with a guilty conscious all my life if I would forsake my religion. I don't take it as a joke nor do I take Jewish customs as a joke. If my grandparents are always looking to save money it's not so funny as it may seem.

Another, possibly more tangible way to preserve us is to go to Israel and support it, learn Hebrew. Such an effort as the Jews made there must not go to waste. Anyway ------- it is the Land of my Fathers.

* * *

(c) Uncommitted

To me being a Jew is a way of life and I can not see myself living in any other way. This is because I was brought up as a Jew in a Jewish atmosphere and I am used to it.

* * *

(2) Some comments on the boys' views

Quantitatively, there is a high proportion of boys (73.3 percent), who see the meaning of being Jewish mostly in religious terms. Three boys (20.0 percent) see it more in nationalistic terms, but also refer to religion. The remaining boy has no pronounced orientation either way.

Qualitatively, boys attach a variety of meanings to their Jewishness. It is most valued as a source of ethical rules promoting good individual conduct and harmonious relations with others. Just over half of the boys in the sample indicate this. Feelings of honour, pride, and privilege at being a Jew are clearly expressed in a third of the answers. Being different from other peoples or cultures is also valued, although there are two senses in which the term is used. In one, there is no sense of being different and superior In the other, the superiority of the Jewish way of life, or aspects of it, is explicitly stated or implied. Also valued about being a Jew is the feeling of being united with a people (folk) and a tradition, which has enabled them to resist hardships and become successful. The importance of Jewish learning, knowledge and teaching is mentioned by four boys. Explicit recognition is given to tradition.

Among those who emphasize non-religious meanings of being a Jew, as much weight is attached to honour, pride and privilege as to the sense of being united and keeping tradition. Least mentioned is being superior to others. However, among those emphasizing religious meanings of being a Jew, feelings of superiority are most mentioned. From both field observations and this evidence it is legitimate to suggest that, for some boys, adherence to religious beliefs is not untinged with a certain arrogance or, at least, assurance that Judaism is superior to other faiths.

The percentage of boys who appear to profess religious beliefs is higher than might be expected. At the time of Dr Nahum Goldmann's visit, the Principal had made no secret of the fact that, according to his estimate, some fifty percent of boys in the school came from non-observant homes. On this basis a score of 73.3 percent gives grounds for optimism.

On the other hand, the possibility should not be discounted that when they were asked to do this exercise, some boys decided to present a more favourable picture of themselves than was actually the case. I had not asked them to give their names (although some still did), and went to great trouble to play down the importance of the data. Despite this there was a quite perceptible undercurrent of anxiety in the class. One boy in particular was visibly worried. He asked twice why he had to do it, then went over to another boy and tried to read his answer. His final statement inevitably stood out. It is the briefest of those given. There is the possibility in this case, and maybe in others, that a form of 'pluralistic ignorance' existed at the time (Allport, 1933). Some boys might have felt obliged to state they were more religious than they actually were, believing that others would do the same.

(3) Views of the future

(a) Boys' stated aspirations

Towards the end of second Term, I asked the boys to give me details of their subject choices for fifth Form, together with an indication of their intended careers. The latter are helpful for advising boys about the appropriateness of their subject choices. At the time these details were obtained, the boys did not know their C.S.S.E. results, thus their aspirations are not coloured by knowing whether they would be getting financial assistance to help with their senior studies. As I have already indicated, C.S.S.E. awards provide a fairly reliable measure of university potential, and knowledge that he had not obtained a scholarship might have made a boy think twice about deciding to aim for university. Five boys were uncertain about their careers, but still stated the tertiary training they aspired towards. Only one boy was completely uncertain about both.

As the following summary makes clear all but one choice of career fall into Wiseman's Professional and Higher Managerial category (Wiseman 1970: 224). Commercial, scientific and medical careers predominate. Compared with their fathers' occupations, a majority of the boys' aspirations are upwardly socially mobile, even when falling into the same socio-economic category. Success is seen as gaining a place at university, or undertaking a comparable form of tertiary training. It is obvious that the boys are markedly achievement-oriented and ambitious, and consider that intellectual capacity is the key to the future.

TABLE 13.1

SUMMARY OF FOURTH FORM BOYS' ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS

Aspirations	S.E. Category of aspiration	Father's occupation
Accountancy College course; qualified accountant	1	Market stall holder
University science course; 'scientific' career	1	Research Scientist
University or College Accountancy course; qualified accountant	1	Milkbar owner
University or College Accountancy course; qualified accountant	1	Owner - belt making factory
University science course; career uncertain	-	Caretaker
University natural history course; career in C.S.I.R.O. as zoologist	1	Research Fellow
Talmudical Seminary for one year then university science course; career uncertain	-	Delicatessen proprietor
University science course; science laboratory work in Israel	1 or 2	Unstated
Medical course at university; doctor in medical research	1	Hotel proprietor
Veterinary science course at university; veterinarian	1	Pet shop retailer
University science & engineering course; aeronautical space engineer	1	Butcher
University science course; career uncertain	-	Coat manufacturer
Medical course at university; doctor	1	Storeman in factory
University science course; career uncertain	-	Manager of knitting factory
Uncertain	-	Manufacturer & retailer of fabric
Pharmaceutical training course; pharmacist	1	Builder and contractor
Veterinary science course at university; veterinarian	1	Quilt manufacturer
Accountancy course (unspecified); business accountant	1	Manager of weaving factory
Technical course aimed at factory trainee in motor mechanics	3	Sock manufacturer

Note: $n = 19$; one student absent.

(b) Thematic apperception evidence of boys' achievement orientation

Supporting evidence of the importance boys place on academic achievement is provided by data from a pictorial thematic apperception exercise they were asked to do as part of the practice lessons I arranged prior to the C.S.S.E. period. Previous test papers for this examination had employed a form of thematic apperception technique, in which candidates had been asked to write a composition on a picture or photograph incorporated in the examination paper for the Written Expression section. It was thus quite in order for me to replicate a similar exercise as part of the boys' practice. The sketch shown in Appendix 2.1 was given to Form four. The boys were asked to write a composition in the form of a reminiscence about either an imaginary past event, or a real life situation they had experienced. The same exercise was given to the Church of England control group of boys at the fourth Form level who were also preparing for the C.S.S.E., under conditions summarized in Appendix 1.

The compositions written by both groups of boys were analysed and compared. In both samples there are similar types of 'fantasy' answers: heroes being welcomed by important dignitaries, such as the President of the United States; awards of medals to returned soldiers; a welcome to the first astronauts to land on the moon (the current scientific achievement in the news media); important personages being either welcomed into Australia, or being farewelled on their departure on various political missions.

However, two significant differences emerged between the two samples. The first relates to achievement orientation. Seven of the Jewish boys (36.8 percent) wrote about receiving some form of academic honour such as a university degree, a C.S.S.E. or Commonwealth Tertiary

Scholarship, and even the Nobel Prize for Literature. Of the control group, only one boy (3.8 percent) mentioned a comparable situation. This was graduation from Medical School.

On the other hand, the control group stressed situations which were not considered by any of the Jewish boys. Five of the compositions related to normal school events, such as old boys being farewelled, or new staff and boys being welcomed. The control group also referred to incidents relating to war heroes being farewelled when conscripted into the army, or being honoured on retirement. No Jewish boy referred to such themes. Their comparatively greater incidence in the control group may reflect the fact that the Church of England school maintains a thriving army cadet corps.

The Jewish boys failed to refer to any themes which might support their religious convictions and views of the self. Although the sketch used may not have contained sufficient stimulus cues to prompt a religious response, I had predicted that some boys would associate it with their *Bar Mitzvah*. None of the Jewish boys used this theme. Their stated aspirations for the future may account for such an omission. Quite clearly, the boys may hold to a religious orientation, but are also markedly achievement-oriented in the secular domain. Only one boy states that he will undergo one year of Talmudic study at the Rabbinical College prior to going on to university.

(4) Summary

The sample of Jewish boys from the fourth Form was considered in Chapter 10 to be representative of boys in the school as a whole. Although it would be fallacious to generalize too far from the sample, it seems legitimate to assume that the views the boys have of themselves and future aspirations may be typical of many others in the Middle and Senior School.

Jewishness is seen predominately in religious terms. Judaism provides a charter of ethical rules governing conduct and daily life. Living in adherence to it is both intrinsically rewarding, and instrumentally is a form of protection against the moral and even physical ills of the world. The boys also see themselves as different from and, in some cases, superior to non-Jews. The future is seen almost exclusively in non-religious terms. Boys are markedly achievement-oriented, and aspire to high socio-economic status occupations and tertiary training needed to attain them.

Paradoxically, in previous chapters, the same sample of boys was seen to place a low value on respect for authority both explicitly in the sentence completion test, and implicitly through unruly behaviour and disrespect in teaching-learning situations. There is thus a contradiction between boys' actual norms, and their stated claims that adherence to their faith makes them better behaved or 'more respectful to other people than the average boy in the street is'. This latter pronouncement would not find support among the adult members of the school, whose comments on boys' behaviour are given in Chapter 11. The apparent reverence for their religion does not find expression in some boys' behaviour in religious situations. Impressionistic data about the ritual and ceremonial life of the school in Chapter 8 contain several examples of the contrast between acts of extreme devotion being carried out in a surrounding atmosphere that is noisy and, to the external observer, the very antithesis of what might be expected in the House of God.

A closer examination of the place of religion in the boys' lives is taken up in the following chapters. The first deals with their constructions of the habitat and networks with which the school is involved. The second analyses boys' allocations of time to activities, and how they react to the dialectical interplay between the two calendars of the Traditions.

CHAPTER 14

CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE HABITAT AND WORLDS OF OBJECTS

Each boy at the school lives in a wider environment of meaningful objects around which his activities are focussed. If called upon to do so, he can represent this 'cognitive map' in a variety of ways.[1] In such representations might be included those objects which have most relevance and meaning for him, and those which are of lesser importance. From an examination of the pictorial and other data symbolizing these constructions of reality it is possible to establish something of his world of objects. This will include not only tangible items, but also such social constructs as the functions of public institutions and people. Their meaning or relevance for him at any moment of time qualify them for inclusion in his cognitive map.

A group of boys from a similar cultural background might be expected to have broadly similar cognitive maps. Although idiosyncratic components will be present, there will also be enough commonalities to construct something of a group's cognitive map. In part, this will consist of its ethnogeography, i.e. the shared perceptions and values placed on the environment and its man-made or tangible aspects. There will also be shared constructions of certain institutions such as the school with which all are closely connected. Individual and group worlds of objects are thus conceptually possible and those of my fourth Form are discussed in this chapter.

(1) Components of the boys' shared world of objects

As might be expected, the boys' shared world of objects is a very

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[1] Developed more fully in Appendix 3.1: 'Micro-area Research: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Local Social and Environmental Studies'. *Geography Teacher*, 10 (August 1970), pp. 73-82.

Jewish one. For many it is spatially restricted; objects in the near vicinity receiving most mention and those farther afield being ignored or given lesser importance. Some aspects are clearly fundamental and highly valued. In Appendix 8.1 the boys' choices on a four-point scale are shown, based on the results of the star diagram each boy was required to complete.[2] Table 14.1 following summarizes the main categories.

Places of worship, the school and the Rabbinical College are obviously seen as most important. Many boys mentioned more than one synagogue they attended, and in the maps showing the local environment eight different synagogues are identified by the group. Public libraries rank very or fairly high for a number of boys, and receive a total of thirteen mentions. They are not only places from which reference and reading material is borrowed but also places where homework is done. It is quite common to see groups of Jewish boys and girls, identifiable from their school uniforms, occupying tables in the reference sections of local libraries. They are also important places for social contacts between the sexes to judge from the flirting and gossip that also occur.

If the home is discounted, other relatives and friends are very or fairly important and appear to be valued above personal friends. Grandparents, aunts and cousins are obviously preferred relatives. The close family links implied by this category may support what was suggested in an earlier chapter about the nurturant and supportive behaviour shown towards little boys by older ones. Grandparents also received a small number of mentions in a question on Yiddish speakers in the boys' homes, which I asked towards the end of the year. Although numerically only twenty percent of the sample they nevertheless rank high in the boys world of objects.

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[2] Sociological Studies in Geography data. The project is reproduced in Appendix 3.2.

TABLE 14.1

SUMMARY OF THE CATEGORIES OF OBJECTS IN THE WORLD OF FOURTH FORM BOYS

Category of objects	Degree of importance by number of mentions			
	Least	Fairly	Very	Most
Places of worship	1	4	10	12
The school			1	19
Rabbinical College	1	2	8	
Mikveh		2		
Libraries	3	5	7	2
Father's place of work		2	2	4
Relatives	1	6	11	10
Friends and neighbours	5	7	2	3
Recreation facilities	28	21	7	1
Services	15	15	13	7

Personal friends receive frequent mention but mostly as least or fairly important, supporting the other patterns we have noted regarding peer group esteem and criteria of friendship. Neighbours are obviously not important, and may point to a closed group attitude on the part of these boys and their families. They prefer to keep themselves to themselves, seeking support and friendship from relatives and personal, i.e. Jewish, friends. This finds support from Medding's analysis of data from the Conference on Sociological Studies of Jews in Australia (Medding, 1973: 49-50). Orthodox Jews generally have a lower degree of social relations with non-Jews in comparison with Liberal and Secular Jews. Goldlust's survey of the impact of Jewish education on adolescents (ibid., p. 188), using results from the school, shows that boys from it are significantly more ethnically isolated from non-Jews. One hundred percent of the small sample chose four close friends among Jews and none from non-Jews, 58.8 percent never attended social functions at which non-Jews are present and 41.2 percent rarely or sometimes attended such functions.

Such corroborative data highlight the clear preference of the boys for the main Jewish sports centre, youth groups and their 'youth houses', in comparison with all other forms of recreation activity. In these they mix only with Jews. Parks and gardens are also clearly favoured. Here it is possible to engage in recreational pursuits, but again with no need to mix with non-Jews. Four boys specifically mentioned the range of hills east of Melbourne, one of them identifying the *kosher*, Jewish-owned restaurant in that locality. Elsewhere in Chapter 7 I referred to these hills as popular recreation area for Jews, and such specific reference to them from the boys is interesting corroboration of more casual, participant observations mainly arising from having my home in the ranges.

Although Victoria is a notorious hot-bed of enthusiastic football followers during the winter, the support for teams (which can run close to one hundred percent of a class in some State schools) is comparatively low. Cinemas and the Jewish theatre (*Kadimah*) are ranked low, as are all other recreation facilities. One boy in the Form had never been allowed to attend a cinema in his life so he informed me at the party held to farewell one of the Form. We had hired a projector to show films on Israel, which I had borrowed from the Zionist Federation, and the operation of the projector clearly intrigued the boy. His naive questions indicated complete ignorance of its basic mechanism. Like many of the very Orthodox group from which he comes, he had seen television very rarely. His parents banned a set in the home, as did the majority in the group.

Although the boys use a wide variety of recreation facilities, overall they rank consistently below religious, school, and intellectual facilities on a scale of values. This would seem to support what has been established in the previous chapter regarding the boys' academic aspirations and view of themselves in religious terms.

The miscellaneous services show only one category which ranks high as valued objects. This includes doctors, dentists, chemists and other medical facilities. These are obviously seen as important components in boys' cognitive maps. Several used qualifying terms like 'family', 'Jewish', 'personal' in reference to doctors and dentists indicating, possibly, that they are regarded in the same way as in-group friends rather than as purely neutral professional practitioners.

(2) The functions of the school complex in the world of objects

For the purposes of the Sociological Studies in Geography exercise, from which the data are taken, the school complex is regarded as a node or central place providing both goods and services for a wide area or hinterland.[3] Boys' answers to this question show a variety of perceptions of the functions of the school complex, and indicate clearly why it is ranked as most important in their star diagrams. Appendix 8.2 indicates the types of functions perceived by the boys and the number of times each was mentioned.

The most obvious aspect of the boys' perceptions of the nodal functions of the school complex is the large number associated with the Great Tradition (211 mentions) in comparison with the Academic Tradition (42 mentions). This is similar to the emphasis placed on religious and related activities noted above. However, the marked difference is surprising in view of the secular activities that might well have been mentioned but were ignored. School excursions to the Royal Melbourne Show, field trips for such subjects as geography, the visit to the film *This Day in Israel*, the sale of textbooks in the school, and sporting fixtures with other schools, all have their equivalents in the Great Tradition but were apparently not considered as important aspects of the students' worlds of objects.

There is considerable diversity of nodal functions associated with the Great Tradition. The school complex is not only a place providing facilities for worship, but also for religious study of various types. The value of learning in Judaism has been demonstrated in previous chapters, and the evidence available here amply supports the importance it is given in the boys' perceptions of the school complex. It almost equals secular education in the number of mentions it receives. The type of religious education is significant. Of the total mentions in the category, fifty percent refer to tertiary or higher education available at the *Yeshivah Gedolah*, or through Talmudical discourses (*shiurim*) and studies in Chassidus.

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[3] Appendix 3.2, pp. 479-481 below.

The large number of goods and services provided for major Festivals is indicative of what was noted in Chapter 8 regarding the strong ritual and symbolic element in ceremonies and traditions. It would seem to indicate that these tangible aspects have an impact on boys' perceptions to such an extent that they now form a major element in the worlds of objects related to the school complex. Many boys handle symbolic objects such as the *shophar* (ram's horn) during *Rosh Hashanah, lulav* holders during *Succos*, and phylacteries on weekdays. They also help with the mobile *succah* during *Succos* which has an associated glamour appeal and provides an escape sanctioned by the rabbi from the demands of secular work. It is not surprising that this object receives nineteen mentions. The construction and materials for the communal *succah* also receive many mentions, as does the baking and supply of *shmurah matzah.*

All the elements of *matzah* baking and supply might be expected to have a marked impact on boys' perceptions, heightened by the colourful and moving *Seder* in the home, at which they are eaten and feature in traditional rituals, such as the hiding of the *afikoman.*[4] There is also an element of fun, excitement and sense of personal participation which is not found in some services provided by the school complex. Consequently these receive fewer mentions.

Much the same might be said of the custom of visiting other *shuls* to liven up proceedings on such Festivals as *Simchas Torah.* I was told that 'livening up' not only meant helping to jolly things along by joining in the dancing, but also might involve mild ragging which could include making off with the Scrolls belonging to the visited *shul*. The element of fun, bravado and euphoria described in Chapter 15 is an underlying attraction.

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[4] Half of the middle of the three *matzos* used in the *Seder* which is ritually broken off, wrapped in a cloth and hidden for use later as a dessert. Young children are encouraged to search for it; the finder claiming a 'reward'.

The high number of mentions relating to youth group activities provided by the school complex is due partly to the same reason. It also provides confirmation of what was noted above regarding the preference of the boys for Jewish youth clubs. In this case, however, it is the Lubavitcher Youth (*Tzach*) that features in their perceptions, and this fact emphasizes the influence of some of the young Lubavitcher rabbis who act as leaders on camps, youth services during *Shabbos*, and Festival activities such as the mummery and games (*Purim Spiel*) at *Purim*. Their influence is also apparent in the *tefillin* campaign which receives mentions (Appendix 5.3). This was advertised in the local Jewish press, and notices formed part of board displays in several classrooms. We can also trace the Lubavitcher influence in the sizeable proportion of references to participating in Talmudical discussions (*shiv-im*) and tertiary Jewish studies with rabbinical students and members of the *Yeshivah Gedolah*. It would appear that through such 'outreach activities' the Lubavitcher representatives from the United States are having a pronounced influence on the boys' perceptions.

Jewish concern with charity is apparent in the number of mentions the opportunity shop on campus receives. Like the *matzah* bakery, the building where goods are sorted and stored is a highly visible object in the school campus, and the middle-aged Jew in charge can usually be seen working amid piles of assorted articles. Over the year I found him a most sincere and philosophical person, and in several long conversations came to value his homespun wisdom about the meaning of Jewish life, and the need for true tolerance and understanding between the various faiths. The boys were regularly asked to contribute money to charity every week, when a monitor came to each class and collected donations.

(3) The network of objects associated with the school complex

The boys were asked to list in order of importance those places with which the school complex is connected in the normal course of its activities. Seventeen out of twenty boys completed this section. Their answers are summarized in the following Table. For brevity only those objects receiving five or more mentions are included. The full list of forty nine objects is given in Appendix 8.3.

The large list illustrates the wide range and diversity of objects perceived by the boys as logically related to the school complex. Although several objects are unusual and not what one might expect from boys, they are quite consistent with the functions of the school. Such items as 'security company guarding premises', 'duplicating material suppliers', 'Commonwealth Grants Authority', 'benefactors donating money to school' show a keen awareness of the inner workings of the school complex on the part of the few boys mentioning them. Uncommon religious objects also receive a few mentions - the *mikveh*, the farm supplying *schmurah matzah* wheat, the *kosher* butcher supplying meat to the school.

The list is an interesting reflection of the boys' perceptive awareness of most of what goes on around the school. So efficient was its grapevine that even supposedly confidential information soon became common property, and a hint of this is apparent in some of the objects boys have listed. The smaller list of those objects receiving five or more mentions (a purely arbitrary figure) provides a more balanced picture. Nevertheless, the remainder should be kept in mind. They also comprise parts of some

TABLE 14.2

SOCIAL OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SCHOOL COMPLEX

(Five mentions or over ranked in order of importance on mean rank score)

Rank Order	Social Object	Number of Mentions	Range of Ranking	Mean Rank
1	Students' homes	16	1-5	1.9
2	School administrative staff	6	1-4	2.3
3	Teachers' homes	17	1-6	2.9
4	Lubavitcher Movement and Headquarters	5	1-6	3.4
5	State Education Department	12	1-12	3.8
6	Homes of congregants	9	2-7	3.9
12	*Yeshivah Gedolah*	5	4-7	5.2
14	Local Commonwealth Bank	6	3-9	5.8
15	State Electricity Commission	6	2-10	6.2
=16	Bus Company	11	5-10	7.0
21	Taxi Company	11	4-11	7.1
23	General Post Office	8	4-12	7.9
29	Other synagogues	9	5-14	9.1
=31	Gas & Fuel Corporation	5	6-12	10.0
34	City Book Suppliers	12	4-16	10.3
36	Local Jewish book shops	7	6-16	11.0
37	School insurance company	5	5-18	11.4
38	Jewish Sports Centre	10	5-18	11.9
41	Milk suppliers to school	6	10-15	12.8

boys' cognitive maps. Their wide diversity is a necessary reminder that the school complex is not as self-contained and isolated as the shorter list may suggest.

With only two exceptions - homes of congregants, and other synagogues - the network in the shorter list comprises objects which enable the school complex to carry out its educative functions in both Traditions. Thus, home, administrative staff, teachers' homes, the Lubavitcher Movement's Headquarters occupy the first four places according to mean ranking, with the *Yeshivah Gedolah* ranked twelfth. Once again the low mean ranking (38th) given to the Jewish Sports Centre, even though by a relatively large number of boys, indicates the lack of emphasis on sport. It is also significant that although the adjacent girls' school receives two mentions in the larger list no other school is referred to, despite an appreciable number of inter-school sports fixtures during the year of the study.

The distinction made between students' homes and homes of congregants would seem to bear out the established fact that not all parents sending boys to the school are members of its associated congregation. Yet other synagogues, mentioned by nine boys, have a relatively low rank order. There was no way of establishing which boys referred to this category of objects, i.e. whether they were members of the Lubavitcher congregation or of their own congregations. If the former, it would support what was implied many times during discussions with boys that the Lubavitcher *shul* tended to have a low opinion of the Orthodoxy of some other synagogues.

Shops supplying books and stationery to the school complex receive many mentions, and are of two types. The city book suppliers handle bulk orders of textbooks and educational materials such as exercise books, drawing equipment and the like. The Jewish shops are both located in the nearby, predominantly continental and Jewish shopping centres which are part of the culture island supporting the school neighbourhood. They supply religious literature, prayer books, and religious artifacts for the various Festivals. References to Jewish bread shops and the *kosher* butcher in the local area strengthen the evidence for the existence of a culture island.

A wide range of mundane but essential services is mentioned in both lists - bank facilities, electricity and gas supplies, post office. Two transport services receive a large number of mentions stressing the reliance the school places on privately contracted transport to ensure that small children especially get home safely. Many older boys ride bicycles as their homes are in the vicinity. Although a tram route runs almost directly past the school, it only receives one mention on the larger list.

What might be concluded from the range of social objects associated with the school complex? Firstly it is seen more in secular than religious terms. This may have been due to the wording of the questionnaire, but is not inconsistent with what the boys are like - keenly perceptive and aware of the wider commercial world in which they live. This received perhaps its most dramatic expression in a mining share boom which occurred during the year. Many senior boys entered the stock market with remarkable aplomb, speaking casually of their dealings in thousands of shares and the considerable profits they were making. The same aplomb was evident during their activities supplying *srach*, willows, and *lulav* covers during *Succos*.[5]

Secondly the school complex is seen in this case as an establishment for learning and teaching - the instrumental culture rather than the expressive culture. Most objects have a practical relevance, although concern for aspects of *Yiddishkeit* is apparent from such mentions in the larger list as Jewish Welfare Societies, the rabbi's library, Jewish and Zionist organizations, and Israel. Most objects that receive higher mentions are neutral: they serve the school, beyond that the need for involvement is minimal and not reciprocal.

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[5] *Srach* - material used to cover the *Succah*; described fully in the following chapter.

Finally there is evidence that as far as the school's functions are concerned boys rank objects associated with the Academic Tradition over those of the Great Tradition. The large number of mentions received by the State Education Department is an interesting anomaly. In fact, this Government organization has relatively little to do with the school. Census data relating to the school population, attendance records and the like are virtually the only times when the Department impinges on school activities. The school is inspected trienially by an independent body. The courses of study and examinations, particularly for the Higher School Certificate, are controlled by the V.U.S.E.B. It is possible that the boys confused these bodies, which do impinge directly on their lives, with the State Education Department, hence the large number of mentions it receives.

(4) Summary

The worlds of objects constructed by the boys are predominantly Jewish in character, and emphasize the in-group social network of links with relations rather than friends, religious and study facilities rather than those providing recreation. Those sporting facilities that receive mention are also Jewish, stressing the slight importance the boys place on interactions outside the Jewish in-group. The values evident in the boys' choices in their worlds of objects clearly support previously established data which show that religious, scholarly and intellectual pursuits are preferred to others.

The school *complex* itself is seen as serving the Great Tradition more than the Academic, and providing a considerable variety of facilities related to the ceremonial life of Judaism. Prominent among them are the activities associated with the various branches of the Lubavitcher Movement, which point to the strong influence it has on boys' construction of reality.

In marked contrast are the objects the boys associate with the normal work of the school: they are associated more with business, commercial and educational activities than religious. It is clear that the boys are not isolated from the wider community and have acute, sometimes over-perceptive knowledge about the wider ramifications of the school and its network of contacts. They are seen to be supporting the functions of the school as a place for learning and teaching the knowledge relating to the Academic Tradition in strictly utilitarian terms. Other aspects of this tradition, such as sport, are devalued.

CHAPTER 15

BOYS' INVOLVEMENT IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

The boys' worlds of objects and constructions of the self indicate something of the value they place on religious activities and the social networks associated with them. From the results of the project we can also establish how boys allocate their time, i.e. construct their temporal, as opposed to spatial, worlds. Their daily, weekly, and monthly timetables are themselves objects in each boy's cognitive map.

Despite evidence which gives the quantitative element in devoting time to religious and secular activities, there is still a lack of evidence to indicate what boys feel towards these aspects of their lives, i.e. the affective component in activity. We can establish something of the boys' emotional involvement with their various activities through subjective, impressionistic data relating to the way they react to the cathectic dynamics and dialectical interplay of the two calendars over the year, described in Chapter 7 above.

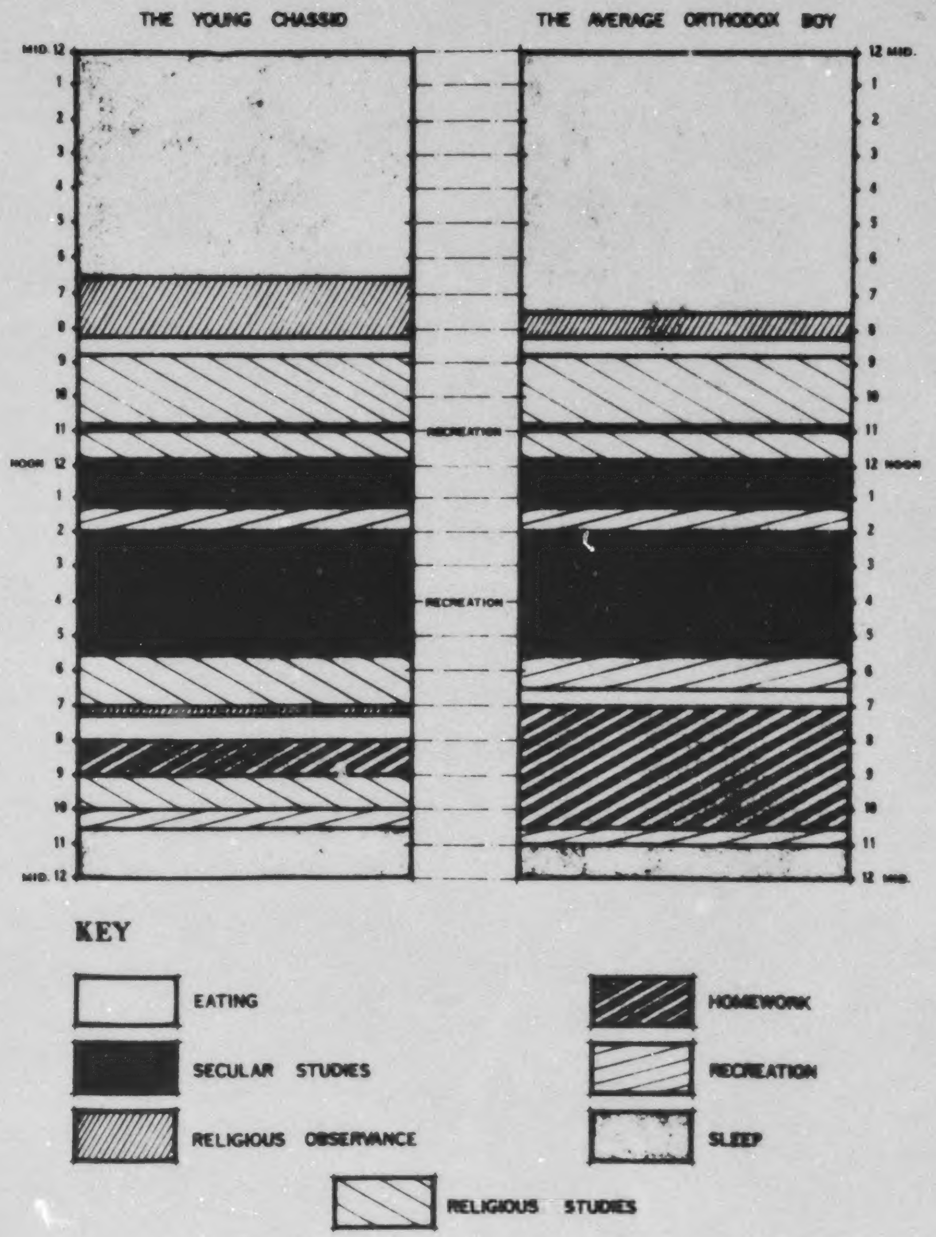
(1) Contrasts between the daily timetables of two ideal type boys

Two representative daily timetables are compared in Figure 15.1. Without exception all boys include basically similar activities in their daily routine; only the order in which some occur and the time devoted to each vary from boy to boy. Sleep, prayers, meals, religious studies, secular studies, homework, recreation, and incidentals such as washing, dressing, and travelling to school comprise a boy's weekday. What marks the Jewish boy off from others is the time set aside for prayers and religious studies. It is quite considerable, and to accommodate his religious life the more mundane activities of sleeping, eating and recreation are adjusted accordingly. For several boys in the sample it is necessary to get up at 5.45 a.m. though most others rise later, but all before 7 a.m. Going to bed for the majority occurs between 9.30 and 10.30 p.m.

If it is legitimate to speak of an ideal type of fourth Form 'average Orthodox boy' from the data, we find the following allocation of time to activities. Prayers and religious duties receive one and a half hours per day. Religious studies receive three hours. Secular work (including homework) is allocated seven and a half to eight and a half hours. Together with an average of eight hours sleep, these activities total between twenty and twenty one hours. The remaining time is given to meals, washing and dressing, domestic chores, and recreation. It is hardly necessary to comment that there is little time for a boy with such a routine to participate in organized, after-school sport of the type that can consume two hours per evening in many a non-Jewish Independent school of the Academic Tradition.

A more Orthodox boy's time is even more restricted. The 'young Chassid' - an ideal type constructed from several boys in Form four, but relating to no one boy in particular - has the following allocation of time. Prayers take some two hours; religious studies take five hours. The latter include an hour or more of private Talmud study in the evening before *Maariv* and dinner. A further hour of religious study might be taken later in the evening before going to bed. Secular work at school takes about five hours, the same time as the average Orthodox boy, but homework is reduced to about an hour in the evening. Recreation time is also reduced. During the day it consists of the ten minutes break before eleven o'clock in the morning, the forty minutes or so at lunch time, ten minutes at four o'clock in the afternoon and perhaps half an hour in the evening - a total of one and a half hours a day. Sleep might be reduced to seven or seven and a half hours.

A DIAGRAMMATIC COMPARISON OF THE WEEKDAY ROUTINE OF THE YOUNG CHASSID AND AVERAGE ORTHODOX BOY



N.B. PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES (WASHING, DRESSING ETC.) OMITTED.

Fig. 15.1

Eating might even be curtailed to the morning and evening meals, as in the case of one of the most Orthodox boys who does not eat lunch.

(2) Contrasts between the weekend routines

Weekends, the Sabbath and Sunday, show the most striking contrast between the young Chassid and the average Orthodox boy in routine. Secular work stops entirely for the duration of the Sabbath for both, of course. This lasts from sunset on the Friday evening until sunset on the Saturday. During this period, prayers and religious services take up some six to seven hours for all. For the young Chassid, religious study takes up the majority of Saturday afternoon between the two main services, and part of the evening after *Maariv*. Sunday activities can include some four hours or more of religious study: a period between *Shacharis* and *Minchah*, two lengthy periods in the afternoon and one after *Maariv* in the evening. In addition to these studies on Sunday, a limited time might be allocated for secular homework in the morning before religious study. More recreation time would be available, however, between the two periods of religious study in the afternoon. The only recreation on the Sabbath might have come just before bed which could occur later than on weekdays.

In contrast, the average Orthodox boy might put in two to three hours religious study between the two Sabbath services or after *Maariv* in the evening. Some six boys do not study at all on Saturday according to their weekly timetables. They have lengthy recreation periods instead. Not all boys attend the school for Sunday morning religious classes, but those who do spend about an hour at religious study. A considerable part of Sunday is devoted to recreation.

(3) Contrasts between the worlds of objects

The contrast in the amount of time devoted to the activities of the two ideal types we have used for descriptive purposes is reflected in their respective worlds of objects. The social network of the young Chassid is restricted, with most value being placed on those links that further religious observance and religious study. The following Table is a composite one drawn up from star diagram data supplied by the boys used to devise this ideal type. It describes the hierarchy of links ranked in order from most important to least important. The absence of any reference to sporting and recreational facilities other than the range of hills east of the city, shopping centres other than the local milkbar, and even the local Jewish sporting centre stress the narrow world which the young Chassid inhabits. He and his family have little use for many of the local council services which are available to others. The types of things most mentioned are parks and gardens, young people's section in the council library, library reference section, the teenage club library.

As we have seen from Table 14.1 above, the pattern of valued links for the fourth Form shows a different social network hierarchy. The range of links is much wider, and less emphasis is placed on facilities for religious worship and study. Many more recreation facilities are mentioned, although they are given low priority. Much greater use is made of local council facilities, local shopping centres and local parks and gardens.

(4) The use of time during the month of *Tishrei*

For all boys, the month of *Tishrei* is the acme of their religious life, encompassing as it does *Rosh Hashanah*, *Yom Kippur*, *Succos*, the intermediate period *Chol Ha-moed*, *Hoshana Rabbah*, *Shemini Atzeret* and *Simchas Torah*. For the young Chassid the whole month is one of strict devotion, fasting, euphoric participation in ceremonial, with what little time is left over given to secular work. For the average Orthodox boy the month is

TABLE 15.1

THE SOCIAL NETWORK HIERARCHY OF THE YOUNG CHASSID

Most important links

- School complex, the *shul*, Lubavitcher Youth Centre
- Lubavitcher rabbis from the *Yeshivah Gedolah*
- Ex-Lubavitcher rabbis now in U.S.A. and Lubavitcher Headquarters
- Parent's home and place of business

Very important links

- Director of the Rabbinical College
- Principal of the School
- *Yeshivah Gedolah*
- Local Orthodox *shul*

Fairly important links

- Cousin's home
- Very Orthodox *shul* and *mikveh*
- Local shop and milkbar

Least important links

- Friend's house
- Range of hills to east of Melbourne

quantitatively little different, as he participates in the same ceremonies. Only the intensity of participation, and ritual observances such as fasting and abstinence from work vary. There is a basically similar pattern of periods of secular school work broken by the Sabbath or the Festivals in this month. Religious study continues unabated, however, but varies in length because time is taken up by extra religious ceremonial. Recreation is foregone entirely when the High Holy Days occur. Secular homework is also abandoned on these occasions and over the Sabbath.

The allocation of time during *Tishrei* is illustrated by the following diagram (Figure 15.2), and it is at once apparent that there is a subtle, dialectical interplay between the component activities. The month starts with the two days of *Rosh Hashanah*. No recreation nor secular work of any description are undertaken, nearly all waking time being given to religious observances and religious studies. On *Tishrei* 3 secular work recommences, but coincides with the Fast of Gedaliah. Religious observances and religious study assume their weekday pattern, and secular homework takes up a sizeable proportion of time. Recreation time is minimal in this period.

The Sabbath and weekend follow on *Tishrei* 8, marked by a cessation of secular work and increase in religious observances, religious study and time available for recreation. *Yom Kippur* stands out on *Tishrei* 10. All day is taken up with religious observances and religious study. Secular work and recreation are both forbidden, as are eating during the 24 hour fast. The previous day (*Tishrei* 9) sees a marked increase in time given to eating, as it is mandatory and a *mitzvah* to eat a good meal on the eve of *Kol Nidrei*, the first of five Services on *Yom Kippur*.[1]

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[1] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 131: 3.

ERGOGRAPH SHOWING AN ORTHODOX BOY'S ALLOCATION OF TIME DURING *Tishrei*

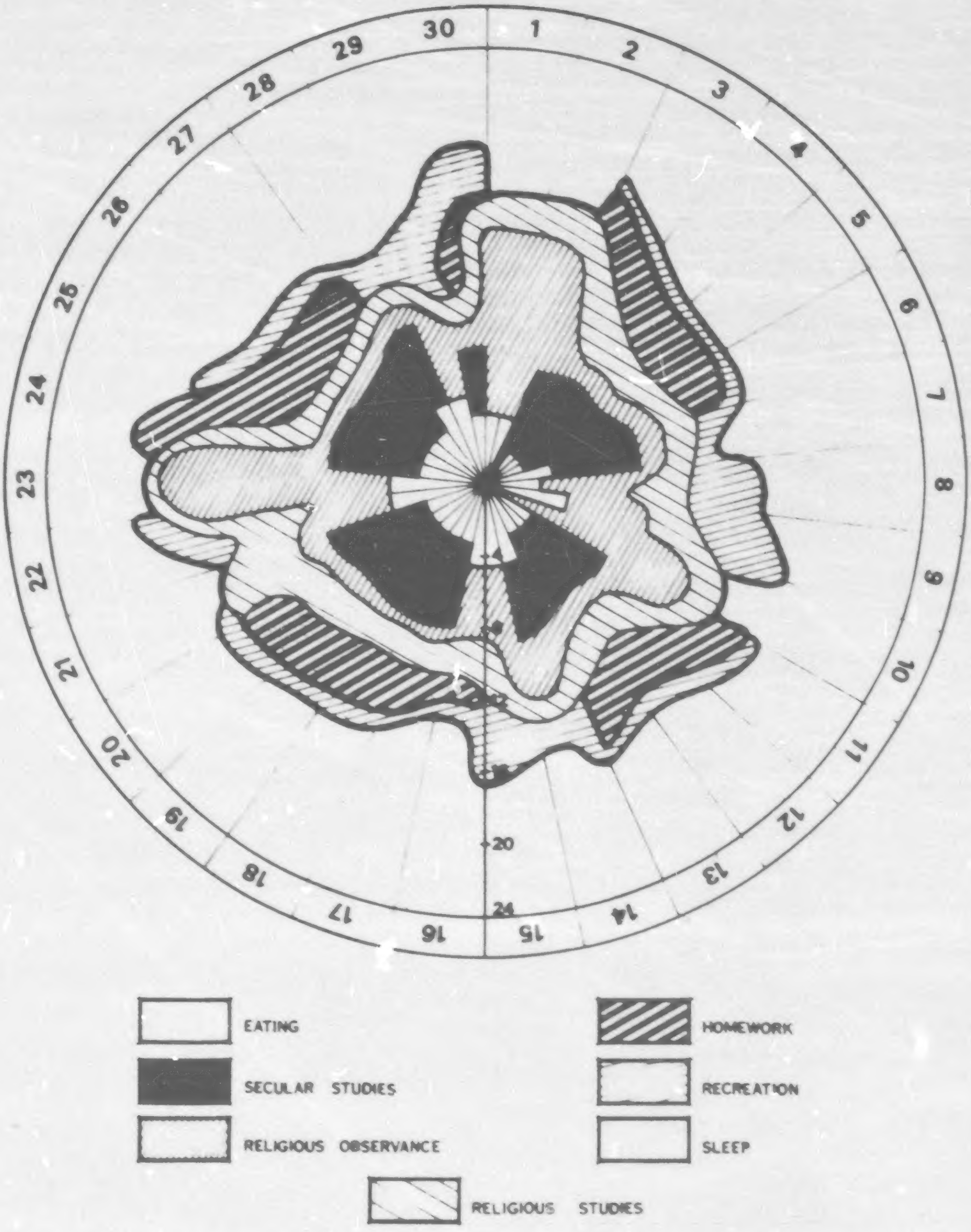

Fig. 15.2

Secular work starts again after this High Holy Day, and religious activities resume their familiar pattern. Four days are available for secular studies before the next peak of religious activity starts with the onset of *Succos*, marked by a complete cessation of secular work of all types. Recreation time is increased as this Festival lacks the stringent prohibitions evident on *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*. The ergograph does not indicate that the type of work done during the subsequent days of *Succos* (*Chol Ha-moed*) at school may not be of the normal type for some strictly observant boys.

On the seventh day of *Succos*, *Hoshana Rabbah* occurs. This is a weekday, and, for some, involves the all night vigil in the *shul*, with special Liturgy and religious studies. The increase in the latter is evident in the diagram. Immediately following *Hoshana Rabbah* is *Shemini Atzeret* coinciding with the Sabbath, with an obvious increase in religious activity reaching a climax on *Simchas Torah*, The Rejoicing of the Law. The euphoric observances and small amount of study take up all the time, so that even recreation is diminished, although its place is taken by the celebrations and festivities that accompany this Festival. It is protracted well into the night, with an apparent increase in eating and reduction in sleep - the amount available being the least for the whole of *Tishrei*.

After this peak of religious observance, both religious and secular work resume an even tenor for the remainder of the month. The customary break for the Sabbath occurs, and secular school and homework cease, but are resumed on the Sunday. In this case, special classes are arranged to make up on the lost time due to the amount of religious activity in the preceding weeks. Religious studies still take place, and there is an increase in the time given to recreation. *Tishrei* gives place to the following month of *Cheshvan*. Although the dialectical interplay between the components of a boy's life continues, it is never as pronounced as during *Tishrei*, for which something of the meaning of being an Orthodox Jew has been reconstructed by the boys themselves.

(5) The emotional impact of *Tishrei*

Tishrei is the month when the cathectic quality of Orthodox life is at its most dynamic. Boys' reactions can be gauged from their behaviours, passing remarks, looks, and what information they divulge during secular lessons or at other times of the day. As a part of the total field situation, the observer is also affected by the cathectic quality of events, and must constantly monitor his reactions to maintain what objectivity is possible in the highly charged setting of the school complex (discussed in Appendix 1). One way of preserving objectivity is to both record events descriptively, and allow boys to speak for themselves. The blend of ethnography and anecdote conveys a picture that is humanistic and the closest one can get to the boys' 'logic-in-use'.

(a) The cathectic build up for *Rosh Hashanah*

During the two or three weeks before *Rosh Hashanah*, there is a gradual development of excitement and tension among the boys. One notes an increase in swaying and crooning while boys are at work. The young Chassid is nervy and highly tuned. His peers are less affected, but all display an air of expectancy and, as the days pass, mounting euphoria which are dysfunctional for secular work.

Tangible reminders of the approaching Festival occur when boys are able to practise on an available *shophar*, which is blown at services during the whole period of the High Holy Days. It is heard in the *shul* during *Shacharis* on all days prior to *Rosh Hashanah*, with the exception of the Sabbath and the day immediately before *Rosh Hashanah* itself. The three types of sounds and blasts - *shevarim, teruah, tekiah* - are a challenge to boys, who try the *shophar*, or blow on bits of grass held between their hands. The complex rhythms of the sounds provoke heated arguments, and groups of boys congregate to draw diagrams on the blackboard in a form of morse code to illustrate the staccato blasts of *shevarim*, the sobbing note of *teruah*, and the single drawn out note of *tekiah*.[2]

Boys' comments and remarks frequently turn to the approaching days, and information comes unsolicited. The rabbi is resting his throat and only speaks in whispers as he will be doing most praying in the *shul*. He will need all his voice. Many will come just to hear him pray. Seats in the *shul* would be very difficult to get. They had indeed sold out weeks before, as I discovered when I inquired about the possibility of obtaining one. Like scores of others I stood in the press of worshippers at the back of the *shul* on both *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*.

On the day before *Rosh Hashanah* work is clearly impossible. In any case, lessons finish at 1 p.m. Fleeting encounters with boys one knows lead to handshakes, and the exchange of greetings and best wishes that are almost obligatory among *Ashkenazim*: *Hag Sameah* (Heb.) 'Joyful Festival'; *Gut Yomtov* (Yidd.) 'happy holiday'. One boy formally asks me to forgive him for anything he might have done to harm me throughout the year. He explains that it is important to obtain my forgiveness and to forgive others' bad ways at *Rosh Hashanah*.

For the sixth Form, work is also impossible, and they say so firmly. All four boys rock backwards and forwards monotonously, and there is a feeling of barely suppressed tension in the group. R________, a young Chassid, is almost electrically charged. At one point he can contain himself no longer, jumps to his feet, and paces quickly to and fro gesticulating and talking vehemently. I should not mind their behaviour and state, it was after all *Rosh Hashanah*, he said. Did I know that during the afternoon devout men and *Barmitzvah* boys would be going to the *mikveh* in the neighbourhood as was their custom before important Festivals. The rabbinical students go to the *mikveh* regularly, often once each week just before *Shabbos*. It is a great *mitzvah*. Wherever there are Jews there should be three things: a *shul*, a *mikveh*, and a Jewish school. Of these three the *mikveh* is the most sacred and important. The rabbis even held that it was permissible to sell a synagogue to build a *mikveh*. Not for the first time I get the feeling of being transported back in time to the East European *shtetl*, where the *mitzvah* of the weekly visit to the *mikveh* was almost obligatory (Zborowski & Herzog, 1952: 41).

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[2] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 129: 13.

The mature way the information was imparted to me was in direct contrast to previous references to the *mikveh* I had heard during the year. On these occasions it seemed almost a matter for joking. Lakes on geography maps would be called *mikvehs* by fourth Form boys, a dam passed by bus during a geography excursion provokes a quick comment from some boys to look at the *mikveh*. Heavy rain that causes the playground to flood badly prompts one junior boy's quip that if it continued the school would soon have its own *mikveh*. Such ambivalence might suggest that the *mikveh* and, for adolescent boys, its potentially embarrassing association with the intimacies of female menstrual hygiene produce a defensive reaction through the tension releasing mechanism of a joke.

However, many other aspects of religious life that one might expect to be treated deferentially provoke similar joking references. The sound of a boy energetically blowing his nose some weeks prior to *Rosh Hashanah* draws the barbed comment in second Form 'It's not yet *Rosh Hashanah*, you know'. Boys chase noisily through the *shul* despite the *ner tamid* and its symbolic reference to God's presence. The chatter and gossip during Sabbath services contrast with the devotion one might expect in the *shul*. One might have here only further examples of the familiar believed-in and statistical norms dichotomy referred to by Nadel (1951: 116). Alternatively it might well reflect the ethos of the school complex. As Wouk has commented (1965: 107): 'Religion for the Jews is intimate and colloquial, or it is nothing'. Intimacy certainly extended to our interpersonal relationships on that day before *Rosh Hashanah*. Work clearly was impossible, and the class disbanded early. We all shook hands and wished each other *Gut Yomtov*. On his way through the *shul* each of the boys shook hands with the rabbi supervising a group of boys in the foyer and with the Principal, and gave similar greetings.

As we left, excitement and bustle continued to crackle through the *shul*, which echoed with comings and goings, greetings and exclamations of the group of boys assisting the rabbi. They were putting new electric light bulbs in an elaborate, glass-covered panel in the foyer. This commemorates the deaths of members of the congregation in Australia and Europe. Normally the little light opposite a name is switched on for the anniversary of the death (Yidd. *Yahrzeit*). During the High Holy Days all the lights are switched on. The number of dates falling between 1936 and 1945 is a sombre reminder of the holocaust that befell European Jewry and reached out to touch this *shul* as it did all others. History is never far away, whether it be Biblical or more recent.

(b) Tension release after *Rosh Hashanah*

The few days after *Rosh Hashanah* are marked by a psychological and physiological letdown, compounded on the first day by fasting during the

Fast of Gedaliah (*Tishrei* 3). Boys are lethargic, but can still raise enough energy to boast about the length of time they have been able to hold out. Everybody knows who is fasting and who is not. Those who manage to last the distance make derisive comments at others who have given up.

It is a matter of pride among the young Lubavitchers from the *Yeshivah Gedolah* to be more ascetic than anybody else, but this inevitably takes its toll. By 4.15 p.m. most boys are still fasting in Form five, but one young Chassid is obviously very tired, and has great difficulty concentrating. Periodically he falls asleep sitting upright with his head on his hand. Finally he gives up the battle, pillows his head in his arms and goes right off to sleep. Although some boys admit they have given up fasting they still look jaded. The aftermath of *Rosh Hashanah* leaves them stunned into inactivity. Other boys in the sixth Form are faring similarly. Some hold out; others give in and get some food.

In fourth Form, all boys are fasting except C_______ who is embarrassed at the others' jokes. Many are obviously tired and languid. U_______ looks very pallid, but assures me that he is allright and will hold out as he has done it before. The young Chassid chips in from across the room with his customary assurance: 'It's not hard to fast if you put your mind to it. It's all a matter of willpower'. He has a steely, determined glitter in his eyes - if anybody cracks it will not be him. His comment and manner are virtually identical to the young Chassid in fifth Form, although he has succumbed to sleep. The rubbish bin in the fourth Form classroom is completely empty: on other days it is half full with scraps and lunch wrappings.

Other fasts during the year had produced a similar variation in boys' reactions. *Tisha B'Av* is the most severe as it lasts for twenty four hours, and the effects are clearly apparent in the lethargy and pallid looks of the boys. For the strictly observant, the fast is compounded by sheer weariness from staying awake all night in the *shul*. Any demanding work is out of the question as it is manifestly ineffectual. A similar effect results for those many senior boys who stay up all night for *Hoshana Rabbah*, but are still faced with major examinations on the following day.

The general effect of fasting, apart from its obvious physiological consequences, is to produce a kind of corporate solidarity among those who manage to hold out. This becomes a tradition on *Yom Kippur*, during which it is customary to find out who is holding and who has given up. Generally the boys refer to the need to fast with phlegmatic acceptance, even though it is clearly dysfunctional for secular work. Fasting is probably the most dramatic example of the dialectical interplay between the two calendars. For this reason it should be kept in proportion and not given undue prominence, as the occasions when the boys are required to fast are relatively infrequent.

Far more common are those days during periods of *Chol Ha-moed* when full work is forbidden, and boys conform to the religious prohibition genuinely, or use it as an excuse to avoid work. It is not easy to detect the latter. Junior and middle school Forms were quick to try me out during the intermediate days of *Succos*, but were easily deterred from pressing the issue when I asked them to confirm the restriction they claimed should be put on work by going to the rabbi. Some senior boys treat *Chol Ha-moed* more seriously, and are quite prepared to go to the rabbi for a ruling. The reason they do so is not necessarily to dodge work, but to keep the day in accordance with *Halachah*. There is often ambivalence over what can and cannot be done. On the seventh day of *Succos*, for instance, boys in my Form were asked to write down the names of two others with whom they wanted to work on the geography project. Three boys and the young Chassid could not write such a thing due to *Chol Ha-moed*, they said, and dictated their answers to friends, who wrote for them.

(c) The cathectic build up for *Succos* and *Simchas Torah*

Following the short break for *Yom Kippur*, which again leaves boys tired and lethargic, the build up of cathectic tension starts for *Succos* and its culmination in *Simchas Torah*. *Succos* involves boys in a practical way, which parallels their involvement with the symbolism of the *shophar* prior to *Rosh Hashanah*. Immediately after *Yom Kippur* they start building the communal *succah* in the kindergarten patio from large quantities of palm fronds and cypress branches delivered the previous weekend. These are laid over a trellis of timber and wooden battens already erected by the caretaker, who is assisted by students from the Rabbinical College and some of the fifth and sixth Form boys. Some fourth Form boys are able to obtain the Principal's permission to spend the majority of their secular class time working on the *succah*. During the lunchtime and other recesses they are watched by interested boys offering gratuitous advice and comments.[3] The work continues during the week assisted by teams of Middle School and some junior boys, who climb over the thickening thatch like squirrels busily adding extra material or spreading it around to ensure an even covering.

Obtaining palm branches is a complicated business if one sticks to the strict letter of the *Halachah*, as a Jew should not cut the boughs for the *succah* himself but should purchase them from a non-Jew.[4] Lubavitcher Youth sets up a service during this period to obtain palms from Local

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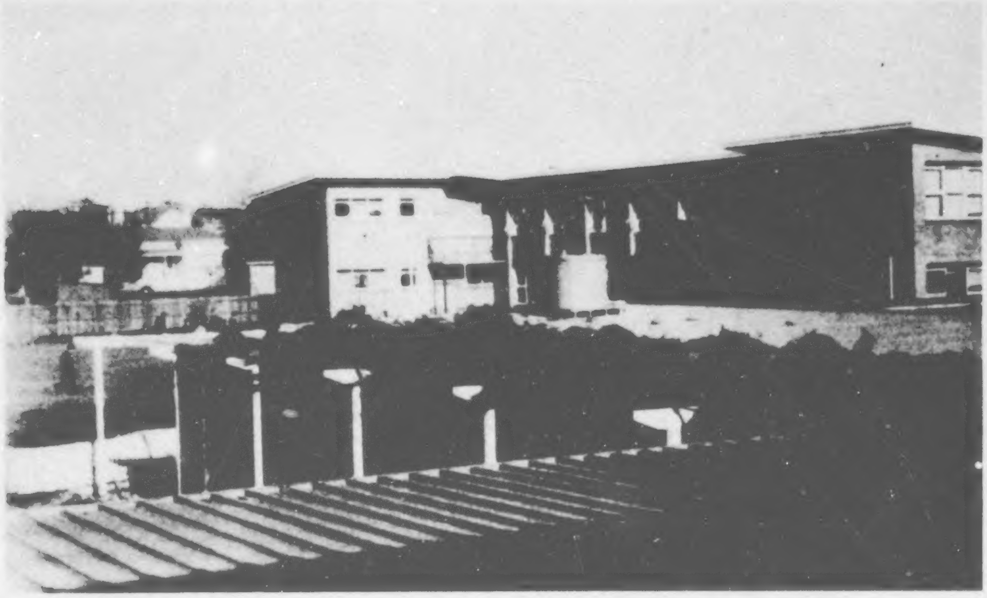
[3] The detailed laws governing construction are given in the *Kitsur Schulchan Aruch*, 134.

[4] Ibid., 134: 10.

A fourth Former cuts cypress branches and other material (*srach*) for the *succah*.



The roof of the *succah* (foreground), with the main teaching block in the background.

Government Councils. The palms are sold to members of the congregation or other Orthodox Jews for thirty five cents a branch. Orders are telephoned through the *Yeshivah Gedolah* or the school office. The enterprise is handled with aplomb and business skill by a boy from fifth Form, who is a member of the Lubavitcher Youth. He copes with shortage of branches, misplaced deliveries, and late orders with calm assurance which collapses only once on *Erev Succos* when some customers ring up with the complaint: 'Tomorrow is *yomtov* and still no palms, what shall I do?' Even these crises are solved somehow, but meanwhile the boy and others helping him are absent from secular classes.

Other boys are engaged in commercial transactions involving religious artifacts. Two members of the Lubavitcher Youth in fourth Form spend lesson time industriously weaving little palm leaf holders, which keep together the ends of the bunches of willow and myrtle 'waved' during services of *Succos*. After a week of use the original willows are bedraggled and members of the congregation need new ones for *Hoshana Rabbah*, the seventh day of *Succos*. Lubavitcher Youth swings into operation again to get more willow and myrtle for sale to members of the congregation, and net more money for their enterprise.

Usually boys are not allowed to leave the school during the daytime unless they have special permission. However, during this period, a roster of senior boys is formed to man the mobile *succah*, which is towed around schools approved by the Jewish Education Board so that Jewish children can experience the fun and symbolism of eating a simple meal in the *succah*, waving the four species, and praying together. This enterprise is manned by Rabbinical College students and young Lubavitcher rabbis. When not in use, the mobile *succah* is either parked outside the school, or kept at the

LUBAVITCHER YOUTH
MOBILE
SUCCAH

Several senior students prepare to take the mobile *succah* to an outer suburban school during the Festival of *Succos*.

Rabbinical College hostel.

Junior boys not directly involved in the preparations for *Succos* are indirectly affected. For instance, third Form boys covertly draw maps showing their own homes and the location of their own *succahs*. Maps are exchanged so that friends can visit each other as is the traditional custom to see how well the *succah* is built and decorated. The rabbi's personal *succah* comes in for considerable comment, as it is apparently one of the most magnificent in the congregation. Following Scripture, the rabbi would sleep, study and take meals in it during *Succos*.[5] After the Evening Service on *Erev Succos* he would be holding a *farbrengen* to which those who come bring food and drink.[6] I am asked by one cheeky boy whether I have my own *succah*. My negative reply and expressed hope to get an invitation to one brings barely concealed grins. Glances shoot from boy to boy with the scarcely veiled, unspoken comment: '*Oi veh*, that *he* should be so lucky'.

As with *Purim* early in the year, *Succos* and its culmination in *Simchas Torah* are associated in the boys minds with fun, feasting and rejoicing. Days leading up to the latter are alive with gossip about the ritual celebrations and merry-making which take place. Food and drink are provided in the dining hall next to the *shul*. The Service involves Readings of the Law and following *hakkaphot*, and, after it, all go to have a drink and snack in the dining hall. Joyful dancing, especially the euphoric Chassidic round dance, takes place later in the *shul*, and celebrations go on virtually all night. Some boys follow the traditional custom of walking to other *shuls* to join in their celebrations and 'liven things up a bit'.

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[5] Lev. 23: 42; 'In booths ye shall dwell seven days'. See also *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 135: 1-22.

[6] The continuity of Chassidic tradition is particularly evident here.

The night can also involve an element of risk during the walks from assault by *goyim* youths and non-observant young Jews out looking for trouble. Boys from the school keep together in groups on their inter-*shul* travels, but are not averse to 'mixing it' with those who come to provoke trouble, as indeed occurred at one *shul* near the school. Boys express their feelings about the events of *Simchas Torah*, as they do for *Purim*. Both are rare opportunities for licensed catharsis and 'letting off steam'.

(d) Tension release after *Simchas Torah*

The day following *Simchas Torah* sees a very jaded, but still jubilant, group of boys. Escapades are recounted with pride. The first *minyan* had gone on in the *shul* until past midnight, followed by more round dancing and a special *minyan* for Lubavitcher Youth which had lasted until 3 a.m. All the fifth Form boys look exhausted. The young Chassid cannot speak so hoarse is he from singing. He also limps badly as he is footsore from dancing and walking an estimated fifteen miles from *shul* to *shul*. His thighs ache from doing the traditional Cossack-type squatting dance in the *shul*. I meet the rabbi later in the day. He too looks jaded, but is nevertheless quietly elated: it had been a good *Simchas Torah*. Another of the rabbis looks less than his normal bustling self, and walks rather more slowly. At ten o'clock the previous evening, I had seen him doing the Cossack dance in the foyer of the *shul*, surrounded by an admiring group of men clapping in time to the rhythm.

Boys spend most of their lesson time discussing escapades, and secular work is very difficult to maintain. My own visits to *shuls*, dancing in the circle, and meal in the *succah* of the parents of one of my boys all come in for comment, as the grapevine ensures that nothing is kept quiet for long. In consequence, I am subjected to good natured banter especially as I am also obviously jaded. How did you like the *succah*? What do you think of Israeli brandy, good, eh? Now vodka, that's a drink. *We* have it a lot. Many of our parents come from Russia and Poland, you know. *We* know how to handle it'. All this is said boastfully, and with evident glee that my relatively modest participation in *Simchas Torah* has left me under the weather. The inflection given to the 'we' is unmistakably one of superiority.

(6) The emotional impact of the final examinations

The month of *Tishrei* is dysfunctional for secular work, but, despite the many religious activities taking place, study does continue, and in the weeks following *Succos* the pressure on fifth and sixth Form boys mounts as the main examinations get closer. Something of their tension is evident in the near hysterical reaction to the organizational breakdown of the October Tests on one afternoon. There is a marked increase in swaying and crooning when boys are studying individually, or revising for examinations due in a few days time. Even during the examinations held at the school, rocking backwards and forwards while reading through the examination paper is pronounced. There is also an increase in the use of the Hebrew abbreviation for *Barukh Ha-Shem* in the top right hand corner of written work, and some boys write it on examination papers. God is also invoked by at least one boy, who informs me that he is praying particularly hard in order to do well in the matriculation examination.

As the climax of the academic year approaches, there is an obvious increase in tension. Boys are edgy, walking and talking more jerkily than at any time during the year. Control snaps easily, and both verbal and physical aggression are frequent. Boys display marked anxiety about their chances in the examinations, and badger masters incessantly for tips about likely questions on examination papers. They even discuss the advantages of putting *Barukh Ha-Shem* at the top of the external papers in the hope of influencing any Jewish examiner who might get them to correct. From anxiety and depression they swing quickly to euphoria, and come bouncing into class in high fettle because they imagine they have just learned from one master the questions he is setting, or have heard something through the grapevine.

(a) Effects on religious commitment

During the period leading up to the final examinations boys' religious commitment is tested to the full. There is some slight dropping off in attendance at the compulsory Morning Service, and even voluntary absences from the period of religious study that follows it. This decision is not one to be taken lightly, as such absences are noted and the Principal informed. One senior boy, noted for his religious beliefs, put the matter in a nutshell. He could be a religious Jew for the rest of his life, but had only one chance to pass the matriculation examination.

The clash with religious activities provoked the sixth Form students into taking what was an unprecedented step, by sending a deputation to the Principal two months before the final examinations. They asked that their religious studies should be reduced for the remainder of the year to enable them to devote more time to secular work. The boys suggested that two hours per week would be sufficient, in place of the two and a half hours per day. No request was made to reduce the time devoted to Hebrew. The deputation was only received by the Principal when one of the visiting teaching rabbis supported it in principle, having apparently been talked round to the boys' point of view by his son. Other boys were less successful. My social studies class spent all one lesson going over all the points in their case, trying without success to persuade one of their number around to their point of view. However, he remained implacably opposed to any change in tradition. The same attitude was adopted by the Principal, and no concessions were gained.

(b) Tension release and the period after examinations

The aftermath of examinations held at the school is a tense period until all marks are given to the boys, and minutely dissected to squeeze the last mark or two out of the papers. The academic battle may be over, but the war has not been won until negotiations over marks are completed. Then the boys relax. Some occupy time making candles for the approaching *Chanukah*. For this they are allowed into the culture island to obtain supplies of specially purified beeswax, which they melt and shape in one of the laboratories. Many read and idolently pretend to study. There is very little tension, and conflict, aggression and anxiety are all at their lowest. Some boys are busy preparing items for Speech Night under the direction of a master. A small group of junior boys is engaged in drawing pictures of the *menorah*, which they pin up on the display boards in the classroom.

Another unprecedented event occurred when the matriculation students returned from their last examination and erupted in a student rag. They ran screaming through classrooms, thoroughly wrecking the first Form room, and went about the rest of the campus overturning furniture, kicking in doors, and generally creating mayhem. One of the boys, who had expressed his doubts about his religious commitment in a discussion with me during *Rosh Hashanah* was almost berserk, and had to be forcibly restrained by some of his friends. The rabbinical students were attracted out of the *Yeshivah Gedolah* by the row, and crowded around the kindergarten watching the rumpus, partly amused and partly scandalized, to judge from their expressions. In some fifteen years of public school rags, I had not seen anything like the intensity of this demonstration. It was finally quelled with some difficulty by concerted action by all the senior masters.

After this abrupt tension release, Speech Night was virtually an anti-climax. Came the last day of school, and I still had not given the young Chassid his report. Unlike the other boys, he had not bothered to collect it. I found him eventually in the *Yeshivah Gedolah*, with a number of rabbinical students and senior boys from my classes. Earnest discussion groups were located all round the room. Heads barely lifted when I entered, and even boys I knew well failed to greet me as used to be customary. I handed over the report, but was not thanked for it, and left quickly. There was no doubt that I was unwelcome. Heads bent to study once more: for these the dialectical interplay of the year had ended: a clear choice had been made.

(7) Summary

There is obvious danger in using the above data to establish boys' degrees of religiosity and commitment to religion. Two ideal type boys have been used to point to some of the more striking contrasts between the militantly Orthodox boy, the young Chassid, and his less militant but still Orthodox peer. The former's life means deep commitment to the ceremonial routine, the minutiae of ritual, and the obligation of study inherent in Orthodox Judaism. It is commitment to literalism - total obedience to the 'yoke of the Torah'. Religion comes first; academic work is clearly placed second. However, the 'yoke' does not always press heavily, and it is apparent that the young Chassid throws himself whole-heartedly into the licensed horseplay and merrymaking that feature in some ceremonies. But even here literalism prevails as he is only strictly observing the various Biblical injunctions, which validate such lighter moments.

The average Orthodox boy's commitment is not so total, and he can make compromises with his religious beliefs and observance when the demands of academic work are greatest. However, he seems more anxious than the young Chassid as the pressure builds up prior to examinations. Whether by greater natural ability, or the constant discipline of study, the latter shows less anxiety. A certain arrogance evident in his attitude and commitment to religious observances may be carried over into the domain of secular examinations, and increases his confidence. His peers occasionally resent this and vocalize their attitudes to such extreme Orthodoxy.

The meaning of religion for both types of boy is reinforced by the all-pervasive symbolism in which they participate on major Festivals. As Geertz has noted (1966: 4): 'Religious symbols formulate a basic congruence between a particular style of life and a specific (if, most often, implicit) metaphysic, and in so doing sustain each with the borrowed authority of the other'. Commitment to religion is totally supported by the school, which takes an uncompromising attitude to clashes between religious and secular work. Religious observances receive absolute priority. Some boys' frustration over such a situation is apparent in the deputation to the Principal, and in the general air of dissatisfaction that prevails during the two months leading up to the main examinations. The student rag can be interpreted as either collective catharsis or even revenge on the school system, for the intense and unremitting pressure it imposes on the senior boys. In the religious sphere at least, it is pressure that admits of no compromise, and it is noteworthy that the most violent boy in the rag was vacillating in his commitment to Orthodox Judaism.

For the young Chassid, on the other hand, such an outburst seems unnecessary, and is a purely ephemeral affair. As soon as secular work is over he returns to the Talmud. Examinations may be important, but he is secure in the knowledge that he has done very well in them. Now they are over, and he settles the 'yoke of the Torah' more firmly on his shoulders, from which it had never really departed.

CHAPTER 16

ETHOS AND EIDOS OF THE SCHOOL COMPLEX - A MOLAR VIEW

Whether one approaches the schooling of the boys through an ethnographical description of the social organization of tradition, or through the boys' own constructions of reality, a number of paradoxical features require further consideration. This chapter draws together the threads of analysis through a molar view of the school as a socio-cultural system with a distinctive ethos and eidos. Following Bateson (1958: 118) the former is the 'culturally standardized system of organization of the instincts and emotions of the individuals' in the school. The latter is the 'standardization of the cognitive aspects of the personality of the individuals' (ibid., p. 220).

(1) The ethos of the school complex

At the heart of the school complex is the *shul* and its associated rooms where a variety of social exchanges take place, setting the tone of the ethos of those parts of the school not directly concerned with the schooling of the boys. The foyer of the *shul* is the focus of almost constant activity. Groups of bearded men in long, dark overcoats and black homburg hats use it as a venue for gossiping animatedly in Yiddish. The Principal's door seldom remains closed for long: visitors pop their heads in without ceremony, to be gestured to a chair or asked to wait. The 'phone does not remain silent for long. Consultations are in a rapid polyglot of Yiddish, Hebrew and English, punctuated with dramatic gestures. Boys bustle noisily to and from the office of the school secretary. Rabbinical students stride quickly to wash their hands ritually in the alcove washbowls, then enter the synagogue where men and adolescent boys pace backwards and forwards deep in prayer, or stand in one spot but still rock backwards and forwards automatically. The general impression is of intensity and almost perpetual motion. It is male-dominated activity. Apart from the school secretary the sight of a woman in this area of the school complex is rare. Those few that do enter the foyer appear to do so diffidently and hesitantly with none of the forceful purpose of the men.

In the adjoining *Yeshivah Gedolah* there is an atmosphere of almost supercharged learning. The room is dimly lit, lined with books, and furnished with large tables cluttered with heavy tomes of Talmud. Students study individually, rocking backwards and forwards in their seats, with lips moving as if in rote learning. Others argue passionately in small groups, emphasizing their points with sharp pointing fingers or an emphatic slap of the hand on the table. One student, bearded, coatless, wearing a *yarmelkeh* and with *tzitzit* swinging at his waist, reads aloud in Hebrew with vigorous intensity from a large folio on a stand. He punctuates each phrase with an emphatic forward sway and stamp of the foot, as if pounding the information into his mind with a rhythm that matches the cadence of what he is reading.

All these activities go on simultaneously in what appears to the external observer to be bedlam, but amid it all a white-bearded rabbi strolls unconcernedly from group to group, elucidating a point here, discussing a question there. He smokes a cigarette most of the time, and is obviously quite at home and relaxed in the highly charged atmosphere, and despite the burning intensity of his students. This is the accepted style of Talmudic study. The whole scene is almost medieval, and immediately brings to mind what one has read of the great *yeshivot* of Eastern Europe (e.g. Ginzberg, 1958; Steinberg, 1959; Zborowski & Herzog, 1952). As Steinberg has commented: 'As an institution of learning, the Yeshivah was a masterpiece of disorganization' (1959: 101).

Endless discussion and argument are a feature of the activities of rabbinical and senior school students in other places around the campus, as not all take part in the games and sport during recesses. Those that do approach them with the same fire and dedicated intensity that they apply to their studies. The combined effect is to impart a highly charged cathectic quality into social exchanges, which mirror those of the boys themselves when in similar places within the school complex.

In marked contrast is the behaviour of boys in teaching-learning situations such as classrooms and the library. Here one senses the tension, aggression, disruptive noise and hyperactivity produced by boys' interpersonal exchanges. In counter-reaction, teaching rabbis and lay religious teachers can display frustration, anger, even fury and physical aggression towards the boys. These are quite unexpected reactions in view of their religious calling, the value placed on loving relationships in Chassidism, and the Golden Rule which is central to the Great Tradition. This heightens the unusual nature and magnitude of the boys' behaviour.

Apart from the physical aggression - and even this probably occurred but was not witnessed - similar counter-reactive behaviour can be shown by secular teaching staff. Impressionistic evidence for this is supported by 'hard' data from micro-ethnographic observations of classroom behaviours, comments of staff, and unsolicited reactions of visitors to the school, including one educationist with considerable experience in a wide range of schools in the State. All observations point to the 'difficulty' and 'difference' of the boys' behaviour, and suggest that one's own impressions, backed by nearly eighteen years teaching experience, are not idiosyncratic. Data from a variety of sources are mutually supportive, and cross-validate one's own.

Unruly behaviour does not seem to be a feature of learning activities that take place out of school on excursions or educational visits. The teacher, who is the target of obstreperous behaviour in class, is thanked politely by all boys as they troop off the bus that takes them to the Show. Geography excursions lag badly due to the sheer physical inability of some boys to master terrain that does not deter girls. Yet put the same boys in the playground in basketball games and their energy bursts out, but rarely reaches the pitch of violence and aggression that can occur in the classroom. On many occasions I gave boys lifts home in my car, and was surprised at the different quality of their behaviour, in contrast to the rowdiness and difficulties I had experienced five minutes earlier during a lesson with the same boys. As other staff comment, the boys can be likeable outside the classroom. In the playground, the informality and warmth of their social exchanges with staff is a notable feature of the ethos of the school. Friendly, almost indulgent help was frequently offered to me on the several occasions when I took part in worship in the *shul*, and lost my way in the prayer book, or could not understand the ritual.

Not all behaviours are of the conflict-prone, aggressive style discussed so far. It is obvious from data that an appreciable number of social exchanges in teaching-learning situations are anxious and tense. Boys need constant reassurance and supportive reinforcement during individual work. Any unfamiliar work, or a variation in routine or style of teaching heighten the anxiety. My own Form clearly showed their apprehension on occasions when I departed from chalk-and-talk lessons to set cyclostyled projects or assignments. The Sociological Studies in

Geography Project generated a barrage of questions, complaints and peevish comments some fifty or sixty in number. I took notes about as many as possible until their sheer quantity defeated me. The great majority related to anxiety over task performance and methods of procedure rather than the difficulty of the questions. Other complaints indicated resistance to adopting such a method of learning and teaching.

The petty nature of the anxiety is an indication of its source. My very first lesson with Form four generated a barrage of questions about the method of ruling up note books. The teacher I replaced had insisted that certain types of headings should be underlined in red, others in blue, some in green, and the remainder in black. What did I want? My failure to lay down similar procedural rules produced endless questions about what the boys should do, and pointed comments suggesting that perhaps I did not know my subject. Only after some four lessons did they get the idea that such matters were unimportant. Similarly, the idea that one might use a number of related books instead of slavishly following one textbook took a great deal of accepting by all the classes I taught. The fifth Form was as anxious as the third Form.

Yet, paradoxically, some boys from the former were the most confident in handling the advertising, collection and other business dealings concerning the sale of *srach* for *Succos*. One of the most anxious over schoolwork was completely at home in the share market dealings during the mining boom. Some third Formers also dabbled in shares. The third Form 'newspaper' was of high calibre and showed considerable ingenuity in design and layout: producing and duplicating it was tackled with confidence. A group of boys from fourth and fifth Forms ran a duplicating service on behalf of Lubavitcher Youth. Its availability was advertised in the foyer of the *shul* and in *The Australian Jewish News*. Yet the same boys could be anxious and querulous when faced with novel learning situations, even though my expectations were far from unusual.

On occasions the aggression and anxiety generate behaviour against the teacher in class that can only be termed retaliatory or vindictive. The systematic persecution of one teacher resulted in his resignation at the end of the year. The turnover of staff was high. Such behaviour was not confined solely to secular staff, though opportunities to 'get at' them on anti-Semitic grounds were greater than religious teachers. One Lubavitcher rabbi who left the school during the year confided in me that he felt he had been the target of the boys' malicious behaviour. Like several others, he put it down to the spoiling they had received at home. We have seen how frequently the 'spoiling syndrome' is invoked as an explanation for bad behaviour.

But equally clearly from my interviews with parents, the reverse appeared to be the case. Boys were expected to work hard at secular studies and I was asked to ensure that they did. The school's demands in the religious sphere were the real reason for bad behaviour so it was implied. However, whatever its cause, there is no doubting that ruthless persecution could be directed against a teacher, often with disastrous results. Less damaging could be the *sotto voce* comments between boys, often in Yiddish, obviously about the teacher and his competence.

Even if outright aggression does not feature in a lesson, it is clear that the teacher is being manipulated, through boys' negotiations and bargaining in social exchanges that have to do with the learning process. There is a transactional element present. On occasions it can work in favour of productive results, as when senior boys decide to co-operate with a good teacher who might otherwise resign and deprive them of his knowledge and expertise. At other times bargaining is used as a weapon to avoid work. This mostly occurs in the junior Forms, who are not under such pressure to prepare for the external examinations. One of my colleagues regularly allowed the first Formers out to unscheduled sport rather than risk a confrontation, and this precedent was eagerly cited when I took the Form, but did not allow them the same privilege. Not only do boys employ manipulation, but they are also aware that they do, and articulate this awareness.

The ethos of the school complex also includes a distinctive style of worship and social exchanges on ceremonial occasions. There is a marked informality in which folk and religious components are blended. Speeches are liberally sprinkled with rabbinical and Talmudic aphorisms, delivered in a declamatory style. One *davens* - with all the connotations already noted - rather than prays. Worshippers in the *shul* have a swagger, even an arrogance. Ceremonies are carried out with exhuberance and fervour, as in the *hakkaphot* on *Simchas Torah*. Informality even extends to most solemn occasions such as the Morning Service on *Yom Kippur*. In contrast there is also a deep devotion and reverence that transcend the mundane, and elevate worship to great heights of religious experience.

(2) The eidos of the school complex

The outstanding aspect of the eidos of the school complex is the way its culture stimulates boys, rabbinical students and rabbis to intellectual activity. Great emphasis is placed on accumulating vast stores of knowledge, feats of memory and the ability to argue or reason dialectically (Heb. *pilpul*) by drawing on the Biblical and Talmudic store. One of the teaching rabbis was reputed to know the entire Pentateuch off by heart. The examples cited in Part Two of boys reciting long passages of Scripture or

Talmud from memory are not uncommon.

The method of dialectical argument and reasoning derives from East European rabbinic scholarship, and illustrates the influence of tradition in the eidos of the school. However, it can lead to extremes of casuistic hairsplitting, which are condemned by the rabbis, but often occur in secular lessons. On such occasions one can be entrapped in virtually endless argument. Each of one's points is met by a counter argument, often prefaced by 'yes but'. The pilpulistic approach is most developed in the *Yeshivah Gedolah*, and, as the Torah Evening demonstrates, is still appreciated by members of the congregation. Their close involvement accords with traditional practice. As Zborowski and Herzog comment (1952: 121):

> The attitudes and thought habits characteristic of the learning tradition are as evident in the street and market place as in the yeshiva. The popular picture of the Jew in Eastern Europe ... is true to the talmudic tradition. The picture includes the tendency to examine, analyze and re-analyze, to seek for meanings behind meanings, and for implications and secondary consequences. It includes also a dependence on deductive logic as a basis for practical conclusions and actions.

Debating style is forceful, noisy and often disorderly. As many as possible want to put their points as quickly as possible. Verbal 'attack' is emphasized by the kinesthetic technique of 'holding' a debating point between the finger and thumb, and proffering it to the listener. Other points are emphasized by a downward jab of the finger, or an upward motion of the clenched fist. If a book comes into the argument, a page will be opened dramatically, and thrust under one's nose.

Learning is also highly physical. In strict rabbinical tradition, learning new knowledge is achieved by vocalizing aloud. 'A person should take care to pronounce with his lips and make audible to his ears, whatever he studies, and he should concentrate his mind upon it, for it is written (Joshua 1: 8): "This Torah shall not depart from thy mouth, and thou shalt meditate upon it," etc.'[1] The strong kinesthetic component in learning is evident in the ubiquitous body swaying that accompanies reading, whether aloud or silently. Even if a person reads silently, his lips move, and he sways in time with the rhythm of the words.

The similarity to the East European tradition of learning in the *yeshivah* and the *shtetl* is striking (Zborowski & Herzog, 1952: 92-93).

> Swaying as one reads, and chanting the words in a fixed melody, *nign*, are considered necessary for successful study ... The swaying and the chanting become automatic. Later, the students will acquire also the appropriate gestures with the index finger and the thumb, sweeping the thumb through an upward arc of inquiry and nailing down the point of the answer with a thrust of the index finger. Study is not passive but active, involving constant motor and vocal activity.

Erudition and Biblical, Talmudic scholarship are revered. The Principal introduced the *shochet* to me as 'a scribe *and* a scholar', with an inflection on the 'and' which clearly indicated the esteem in which he is held in the community. During the year one of the fourth Form boys won second prize in a local Biblical knowledge competition organized by *B'nai B'rith*, thereby gaining the chance of competing in the national finals.

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[1] *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 27: 5.

This was an event of some note, and brought credit both on the boy and the school. The Principal made a special point of visiting the classroom and publicly announcing the honour to the rest of the boys. They were visibly impressed, despite the inevitable 'ribbing' they handed out to the young scholar after the Principal had left the room. For weeks thereafter the boy was the focus of both spoken and non-verbalized admiration from his peers. His knowledge of *Torah* almost became proverbial. We have noted above similar esteem given to the specially selected class of primary school children, whose knowledge of Talmud was also discussed respectfully by far older boys.

A clear distinction is made between knowledge that is uncertain, and knowledge that is eternal truth, in the ideology of the Lubavitcher Movement. The following emphasizes the distinction and the logic behind it:

THE ABSOLUTE TRUTH

Sedra Nitzovim-Vayeilech

> ... In the 19th Century it was the prevailing view of scientists that human reason was infallible in scientific deductions, and sciences like physics, chemistry and mathematics were absolute truths - not merely tested theories, but absolute facts.
>
> A new idolatry arose, not of wood and stone, but the worship of science. In the 20th Century, however, and especially in recent decades, the whole complexion of science has changed.
>
> The assumed immutability of the scientific laws, the concept of absolutism in science generally, have been modified.
>
> The contrary view, known as the "principle of indeterminism" is now accepted. Nothing is *certain* any

> more in science, only *relative* or *probable*. Scientific findings are now presented with considerable reservation, with limited and temporary validity, in the expectation that they are likely to be replaced any day by a more advanced theory.
>
> Living as we do in this climate of scientific uncertainty there is no reason to attempt to reconcile the uncertainties of scientific findings (which science itself declares as only "probable") with the eternal truth of the Torah which cannot be diluted or compromised.[2]

We can thus make the distinction that although the culture of the school emphasizes knowledge, it places greater stress on the knowledge of the Great Tradition, the *Torah*-true knowledge, than that of the Academic Tradition, despite the necessity to learn the latter for success in the examinations and the economic benefits that flow therefrom. Academic knowledge is pragmatically necessary as a means to an end. *Torah* knowledge is the end in itself. As will be apparent in Chapter 17 below, the contrast is often brought out in lessons, particularly by the Lubavitcher students but also by others, when two interpretations of natural phenomena are in confrontation.

Knowledge and intellectual activity are controlled and stimulated by specialists in both Traditions, but *Torah* knowledge is in the keeping of those who also have most to do with the ceremonial life of the school complex, i.e. the rabbis and rabbinical students. They are thus reinforced by the impact of high affect ceremonial occasions, which are lacking in the Academic Tradition at the school. At infrequent school gatherings it is their voices that are heard, drawing on the stores of Biblical and Talmudic knowledge for the apt quotation or aphorism to point the moral of the proceedings. The culture is to a very large extent in the hands of custodians trained in erudition and dialectical skills, who constantly set forward its basic ideas for the instruction of the majority.

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[2] An adaptation by Y.M. Kagan of excerpts of a letter to an individual from the Lubavitcher Rebbe. In 'Thought for the Week', *The Australian Jewish News*, Melbourne, September 5, 1969, p. 11.

(3) Some paradoxes in the ethos and eidos of the school

When ethos and eidos are considered holistically one major inconsistency is at once apparent. This is the behaviour of the boys in both religious and secular teaching-learning situations. In contrast to the intense, often emotional and passionate behavioural style of the school complex outside these situations, boys are fractious, aggressive, anxious, prone to violence, and occasionally persecute a teacher with a thoroughness that can only be described as sadistic. In other respects their behaviours are consistent with the ethos and eidos of the school culture.

It is difficult to understand the motivation behind such atypical behaviour. When it occurs in the classroom, it is clearly dysfunctional for learning on which so much emphasis is placed, whether in the religious or secular sphere. Paradoxically, the boys themselves indicate through their constructions of reality that they value learning, academic achievement, and intellectual activity. But all these are clearly hampered in some classrooms: not only does disruptive behaviour frustrate the efforts of the teacher, but it also interferes with those boys who are trying to learn. Very rarely, however, does one hear strong protests from them, or see collective pressure exerted on the offenders.

Disrespect for teachers in the classroom contrasts with the informality of relationships and friendliness that can prevail outside. Disrespect is also the very opposite of the value of respect for the man of learning enshrined in rabbinical and East European traditions, which much of the ethos of the school complex reflects. Although some parents see the stress the school places on religious education as leading to strain for their boys, it is clear that they support the school's efforts in teaching secular knowledge.

(4) General conclusions

In Part Three I have examined some of the boys' constructions of cultural reality, using what data could be obtained by a variety of direct and unobtrusive measures. Despite the recognized weaknesses of some of them, a consistent pattern is evident in the way a small group of boys perceive themselves, their relations with others, their world views and aspirations for the future. Least problematical in their constructions are views of themselves as Jews in which it is clear that religion plays a major, if not a dominant role. Also non-problematical are their views of the future and the means to achieve it. The great majority see it in achievement-oriented terms of a tertiary course followed by a professional career. There is both an implicit and, at times, recognized duality in their lives.

If intellectual ability and attainment rank high in their scale of values it appears to be at the expense of inter-personal relations with their peers and others with whom they come into contact. These are not seen as so important, neither are sport and other forms of recreation. In these respects they are markedly different from a control group of boys from very similar socio-economic environments, who are being educated at an independent Christian school where a fundamentalist orientation to the faith is apparent. However, there is abundant ethnographic evidence to suggest that, in teaching-learning situations especially, boys find the task of constructing the appropriate typifications to guide interpersonal behaviour far more problematical than in other areas of their experience in the school. There is a marked paradox in their attempts to construct reality: part of the task appears to be coped with easily, and without undue strain; other parts pose severe problems. Part Four, which follows, advances some tentative explanations for the paradox, in terms of a theory of enculturation dissonance.

PART FOUR

TOWARDS A GROUNDED THEORY OF ENCULTURATION DISSONANCE

> The communication of the nature of a culture, a community, or a work of art, is part of the business and joy of human living, and needs to be carried on whether or not there is a strictly behavioural science. So, if the characterization of a community stops at some place between imaginative portraiture on the one hand, and a statement of a proved hypothesis as to part relations on the other, it may serve, although perhaps only a little, several of these needs and purposes.
>
> Robert Redfield

CHAPTER 17

ENCULTURATION INTERFERENCE IN THE SCHOOL COMPLEX

The social organization of the two Traditions in the school complex has the inevitable consequence of exacerbating the problematical nature of the pupils' attempts to construct reality. What can be a stressful process of searching for identity normally during adolescence (Blos, 1962: 198 ff.) is heightened by the dialectical confrontations between the two Traditions. Each presses its claims for the boy's allegiance and commitment, and each impinges on the other to produce a form of enculturation interference.

The purpose of this chapter is to isolate sources of this phenomenon within the school complex. The pathology of stress among Jews, and an explanation of its likely effects on the boys within the school are taken up in the following chapter.

(1) Enculturation matrix dualism and its effects in the school complex

One of the most striking features of the ethnographic data is the fundamental dualism it reveals in most aspects of the school complex. For purposes of this analysis the heuristic model developed in Chapter 2 is adopted to focus on a child-centred view of the enculturation process. From the point of view of a boy at the school, two enculturation matrices are concerned with his formal enculturation. On the surface, at least, there is very little overlap between the two, as considerable compartmentalization of activities takes place. For convenience of analysis we can refer to the secular matrix of the Academic Tradition and the sacred matrix of the Great Tradition, but must acknowledge the dangers inherent in the use of the terms sacred and secular in the context of the school. Each of the matrices has its own structure, organization and timetable. Each is validated by its own ideology which confronts the boy with ideological dualism. Each puts forward its own formal construction of knowledge through a curriculum so that the boy is confronted by what can be termed epistemological dualism.

In these three broad areas of dialectical confrontation there are potential sources of stress. During the day, the boy moves from one matrix to the other through a form of Janus-type, enculturation interface. Influenced now by one matrix, now by the other he is in a situation where enculturation interference can occur due to the dissonance or lack of 'fit' between the experiences he gains, which only he can resolve in the task of constructing reality, and making sense of his life world. The various agents he encounters in the matrix provide varying degrees of assistance, but the task of reality construction is basically his.

(a) Consequences of structural-organizational dualism

The boy's task is frustratingly difficult because the sacred matrix admits of little compromise. Its corps of enculturation agents - teaching rabbis, lay religious teachers, young Lubavitcher rabbis - demonstrates its beliefs, norms and values with missionary fervour, in the outreach tradition. Stress is placed on the strict observance of the minutiae of daily individual and collective religious rituals and ceremonies. Exact times and rules are prescribed for their performance, and derive from a historical source that cannot be challenged. *Torah* is God-given and must be believed absolutely. The Great Tradition is not malleable. In consequence, the sacred matrix is markedly 'legalistic or objectivistic', i.e. 'rule and symbol' oriented, to adopt the terminology Clark has applied to the fundamentalist Old Order Amish communities of North America (1949: 147).

In contrast, the secular matrix has a different set of enculturation agents, comprising full-time and part-time employees. The majority are *goyim*, and are very different from those of the sacred matrix. There is not so great a stress placed on clearly defined rules and meticulous performance of rituals. Those commonly observed are diffuse and imprecise, i.e. 'what everybody knows' goes on in schools. As the agents have no commitment to an outreach ideology, there is no question of competing for the boys' allegiance. Indeed, to accommodate the man-activity and man-time value orientations of the Great Tradition, teaching activities in the secular matrix are organized around the scheduled daily, weekly, and yearly times for prayers and ceremonies. However, where dominant values of the secular matrix are involved, the boys are vitally concerned to obtain from staff the proper performance of teaching duties, classroom discipline and, more important, the final examinations which are the acme of the year's academic endeavours. Any breakdown in the organization of the examinations is likely to produce marked reactions. For instance, the period of the I.A.R.T.V. test examination in October was one of marked tension for the leaving and matriculation boys, who regarded their performance as a predictor of success at the external examinations to take place in a matter of weeks. On one afternoon all boys had to sit for the English examination, but this was held up for nearly an hour due to the non-arrival of the senior English master, who had the responsibility for distributing the papers. He was delayed by religious devotions in the *shul*, praying *Minchah*.

The fiasco that quickly developed among the boys had all the behavioural characteristics indicative of stress. Boys dashed hysterically around the school complex looking for the master concerned. They bailed up other senior masters, and, almost shouting in anger, demanded that they find the papers and get the examination under way. This proved impossible as the senior master had them with him. Only by very strong disciplinary measures and straight talking to all the senior boys was order restored. The examinations had to be held on a subsequent day.

The senior master would often be late for class in the normal course of events due to his religious devotions. My own Form treated this as a bit of a joke until examination and test results became involved. When the master failed to mark papers quickly, or did not provide results, comments became outspoken and annoyed.

(b) Consequences of ideological and epistemological dualism

Each matrix offers its body of knowledge to the boy. Although it can be held that each matrix thereby caters adequately for the boys' aspirations, i.e. to become an observant Jew on the one hand, and a successful contender for a place in a tertiary institution on the other, it is doubtful whether either body of knowledge provides the wherewithal for a boy to produce himself in action (*praxis*) in the way identified by Edgar (1974: 670).

The secular matrix is unrelated to 'reality' in respect of the knowledge it offers. The curriculum is reified and 'out there' in Keddie's view (1973: 15), merely to be mastered for the express purpose of passing examinations. It is not 'raw material' for *praxis*. 'Rarely does it signify possibility for [the boy] as an existing person, mainly concerned with making sense of his own life-world. Rarely does it promise occasions for ordering the materials of that world, for imposing "configurations" by means of experiences and perspectives made available for personally conducted cognitive action' (Greene, 1971: 253).

Additionally, as we have seen, the nature of the 'scientific' knowledge in much of the secular curriculum is held to be subject to the 'principle of indeterminism' according to the Lubavitcher ideology. In contrast, the curriculum of the sacred matrix is *Torah*-true. The logics of the two curricula are thus different. Even though the academic knowledge might be malleable to a limited extent, as it is derived from humanistic, scientific advances in knowledge, which are open to rational examination and discourse, its very foundation is attacked by Lubavitcher ideology. But to accept this, and the *Torah*-true knowledge on which it is based, involves a leap of faith and total acceptance which transcends scientific rationalism. Epistemological dualism of this kind places the boy in a double bind situation. There is the implication that the knowledge offered by the secular matrix is uncertain, and provides shifting sands on which to base reality construction. The *Torah*-true knowledge is the firm foundation, but is beyond the reach of scientific examination, and thus gives the boy no real choice in constructing his *own* reality anyway. All is given to him: *praxis* is denied.

Epistemological dualism has a dysfunctional effect on the formation of norms and typifications to guide interpersonal relationships. Both Traditions stress the accumulation of cognitive knowledge, without the corollary that it shall find expression in guiding behaviours. Solomon has commented on adult attitudes to Jewish education in Melbourne (1973: 175-76):

> The ideal curriculum did not include suggestions for subjects which might specifically foster objectives of personality-development, practical observance, or active participation in community life. The general emphasis was on 'what a Jew should know' rather than on 'what a Jew should be' or 'how a Jew should live'. Even among Orthodox adults, there was an unconscious assumption that being a Jew and living as a Jew followed automatically from acquiring intellectual knowledge.

Solomon further points to the lack of integration between the Australian and the Jewish aspects of the Jewish child's formal education, which reflects a compartmentalization of the Australian and Jewish areas of life (ibid., p.176). Although she notes that preparation for life as a Jew in Australia is left to secular subjects, the paucity of the secular curriculum at the school, with its future-oriented instrumental goals, provides little guidance for the boy, as all subjects are chosen for pragmatic, examination-oriented reasons. Even those elements in the Academic Tradition held to educate the 'whole man' are filtered out as inappropriate.

The connection with the 'real' social world is further attenuated by the literate culture of the Academic Tradition. Goody and Watt have argued (1962) that the peculiar characteristics of such a culture are 'an abstraction which disregards an individual's social experience ... and a compartmentalization of knowledge which restricts the kind of connections which the individual can establish and ratify with the natural and social world'. Literate cultures stress reading and writing, which are necessarily solitary activities. As Goody and Watt suggest this produces a pronounced individualization, which is seen in its most dramatic form in the ritual of the examination. In the Great Tradition there is also pronounced individualization stemming from emphasis on literate skills. What discussions do take place, as over Talmud, are essentially contests in which boys are encouraged to demonstrate their pilpulistic ability rather than contribute to consensual opinion.

The social construction of knowledge in the school, arising out of the way it has organized the Traditions, may thus be a basic cause of the low value boys place on interpersonal relationships within the school complex.

The classroom is a place for individualized activity, even a form of competition in which boy is pitted against boy. The fourth Formers apparent inability to sustain a discussion, or work in groups on the major project during the year can be seen in this light.

(2) Enculturation interference through the countervailing curriculum

The preference of boys, parents, and the school Principal for chalk-and-talk, teacher-directed learning implies that the communication of the two Traditions to the boys is a relatively straightforward, unproblematic process. Subjects in the curriculum are the major sources of meaning, and are mediated by enculturation agents during teaching-learning transactions. The model further implies that knowledge flows in one direction with relatively little interference. Both Traditions stress the importance of learning. The boys show by their constructions of reality that intellectual achievement and learning are highly valued. It all seems quite unproblematical.

However, as a number of workers, including the writer, have suggested (e.g. Jackson, 1968; Keddie, 1971; Postman & Weingartner, 1971; Bullivant, 1973a, 1973b, 1974a) not only is the formation of the curriculum problematical, but its dissemination in the classroom is subject to a number of constraints. In Jackson's terms a 'hidden curriculum' operates, which significantly affects what is thought to be a relatively uni-directional and straightforward flow of meaning to the pupils.

Use of the enculturation matrix, however, reminds us that a school is a far more complex source of meanings and experiences from inanimate and animate stimuli in addition to the teacher. More important, these meanings may not be what he intends pupils to receive. They may be totally unrelated to the formal curriculum. There are meanings from stimuli in the pupil's environments which run counter to it. From such a *countervailing curriculum* pupils can either construct a reality other than that intended by their mentors, or find the task further complicated by contradictory stimuli.

(a) Components and types of interactions within environments

The environments of a school can be conceptually sub-divided into a number of *interaction settings* comparable to 'recurrent social situations' (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972: 24). These are 'made up of behavior and artifacts that can be observed by the outsider'. Examples within the Jewish school are the classroom, playground, dining hall, *shul*, and adjacent spaces around the buildings.

Such a definition and alternative term avoids confusion with the more familiar definition of the social situation suggested by Goffman (1971: 75) 'as an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are "present", and similarly find them accessible to him'. According to this definition, as Goffman points out, 'a social situation arises whenever two or more individuals find themselves in one another's immediate presence, and it lasts until the next-to-last person leaves'.

But this precludes the possibility of a social situation existing where only one individual is present within an interaction setting, exhibiting unobtrusively observable behaviours such as talking to the self, or musing aloud. More importantly for this study, it also precludes consideration of those social situations in which only one actor is present, but is obviously behaving in a culturally patterned manner. Such would be the case in the *shul*, for example, when a rabbi is alone and reading aloud from *Chumash*, or a member of the congregation is praying alone. In both cases, clearly no other person is *physically* present. However, in the latter, An Other is, and communicative behaviour is taking place in relation to some One 'accessible' to the actor.

The adoption of the term interaction setting also enables one to conceptualize by extension what occurs within it. These are *interaction incidents*, i.e. observable behaviours between an actor and other components within an interaction setting. This use is a departure from those suggested by Flanders (1960) and Adams (1970), whose multi-variate models and complex technical monitoring equipment were inapplicable to the types of interaction settings in which I did my work. My own method was to rely on hand-written notes, occasional photographs, and memory of incidents later written up in privacy.

We can conceive of four basic types of interaction incidents. The first and most common are those between a plurality of actors present in the interaction setting. All the linguistic, paralinguistic, and extra-linguistic means of communication in interpersonal behaviour will be present Laver & Hutcheson (1972: 11-14). Emotions will be generated and can be observed.

The second type is self-interaction. Here an actor's behaviours are directed to his 'self' - communing aloud, expostulating, abusing or denigrating. Such behaviour is both meaningful for the actor and forms part of the dynamic of the interaction setting (Blumer, 1971: 16).

The third type we have noted is that between an actor and an invisible Other. The communicative behaviours and emotions this generates can also be observed.

The fourth type is between an actor and inanimate components or stimuli such as artifacts present in the interaction setting. They will have meaning for him - otherwise he would not interact with them - but may not have for others that are present. A boy interacts with *his* desk, for instance, opens the lid, roots around inside, takes out the book he is seeking. While doing so he may interact with his self, grumbling that he cannot find 'that' book. His behaviour can flow over and affect others' behaviours - the desk lid which, when flung open, bangs the head of the boy in front, for example.

We should thus expand Goffman's notion, if a comprehensive picture of any recurrent social situation is to be obtained, by taking account not only of the four types of interaction seen individually, but also the ways they overflow into, or generate a dynamic with, each other. In summary, interaction incidents occur either independently or inter-dependently between an actor and other actors, between an actor and self, between an actor and an Other not physically present, between an actor and an artifact or inanimate component of the setting.

Encompassing all components in any interaction setting are more diffuse macro-environmental influences that should not be ignored. These often provoke actors' reactions, such as the boy who turns on the lights when it gets dark; the enervating humidity and temperature in the room on a typical pre-cool-change period of a summer's day, which make everybody fractious and irritable. Again we have a contribution to the dynamic of the interaction setting, which makes for full observation and explanation of it.

Although the majority of interactions are confined to the school campus, its spatial extension into external interaction settings should not be neglected. These become important when school excursions take place, or when activities such as farewell parties are held in boys' homes to which whole class groups and staff are invited. Such occasions provide opportunities to compare their interaction dynamics with those typical of interaction settings within the school itself.

During his school life a pupil encounters a great variety of meanings mediated by symbolic and extra-symbolic elements in the various interaction settings he encounters. From them he attempts to form a construction of cultural reality and concomitant evaluative, attitudinal and emotional behaviours. Within the school, two major sources of meanings are the formal curricula of the Academic and Great Traditions, it is true, but on many occasions each becomes for the other a countervailing curriculum. When experiences relating to the Academic Tradition are being provided, influences from the Great Tradition can obtrude, providing other experiences which are often dysfunctional for the success of those intended. A reverse situation also occurs when experiences more appropriate to the Academic Tradition influence those of the Great Tradition. It is contended that pupils 'learn' from both, and that the force of the countervailing curriculum may be quite apparent in its effects on their constructions of reality.

Formal lessons are not the only interaction settings in which the phenomenon occurs. Wherever the boys interact, it is possible to see examples of the interplay between one or other of the two traditions and its respective countervailing curriculum. The logic of the situation determines which emphasis it takes. In most of the interaction settings observed, however, elements of the Great Tradition made up the countervailing curriculum at times when the experiences were meant to be derived from the Academic Tradition.

(3) The overt operation of the countervailing curriculum

The basic overt effect of the countervailing curriculum is to challenge the certainty of the experiences available to the pupil. Reality construction becomes, in consequence, a problematical enterprise as in some areas certainty is shaken when at least two solutions are offered. This can be dramatic, affecting issues of major consequence, or trivial over matters of seeming small importance, as the following examples illustrate. It can influence all components of reality construction, knowledge, beliefs, customary behaviour, attitudes, and values.

Although separating out components of learning in this way is now dated, such simple distinctions are made here for the purposes of the examples that follow.

(a) Challenges to established knowledge and beliefs

Perhaps the most clear-cut example of the countervailing curriculum is challenges to established knowledge and beliefs. These can occur during lessons, which concern aspects of reality for which differing explanations are available from scientific thought (the Academic Tradition) and religious thought (the Great Tradition).

The creation of the world is one such aspect. Orthodox Judaism dates its calendar from the moment of creation, i.e. 3760 B.C.E. On several occasions with the fifth Form, my geography lessons touched on elementary stratigraphy and geomorphology. 'The Silurian rocks in this area were laid down some 400 million years ago', I would affirm. Several of the most Orthodox boys would challenge my statement. 'That cannot be; in the Bible it says that the world was created 5829 years ago'. For T___________ it became something of an obsession to correct me throughout the year. 'We know the truth', he would state emphatically, 'because Moishe (Moses) has given it to us. Your's is only a theory and, like all theories, can easily be proved wrong. We have the truth'. Form five was not exceptional in challenging geological knowledge. Periodically during the year, similar occasions would arise with other Forms, and my statements would be greeted with scepticism and even outright rejection by boys in Forms three and four whenever what I taught ran counter to Biblical teaching.

The strength of such conviction is well illustrated by the following incident with my sixth Form social studies group. During discussion about aspects of Chinese civilisation, I mentioned Toybee's concept of historical cycles, and asked the boys whether it could be applied to events in Jewish history by way of illustration. Five thousand seven hundred and twenty nine years have elapsed since Moses I was told; the Messiah would come by the year six thousand or earlier. The Lubavitcher Rebbe had once prophesied that the millenium was imminent; and had confirmed his prophesy on several subsequent occasions. I risked a few questions.

'Doesn't it worry you when I put forward different ideas such as these historical cycles?'

'No, those are only theories. We know. We don't even have to worry about it'.

'But doesn't it get you upset?'

'Why should it? We are quite certain. It's something we do not even worry about; it's not a question of belief but part of us'.

'But false prophets have arisen before - look at Shabbetai Tzevi, the seventeenth century pseudo-messiah, and what followed when he renounced Judaism'.

'Yes, we know, we know. There will always be false messiahs; this we accept, but when the true one comes we will know'.

Such conviction is all the more surprising in view of the many developments of the twentieth century, one of which was imminent at the time. This was man's first landing on the moon, but even it could be coped with. After some hesitation and much consultation with staff, the Principal permitted a large television set to be set up in the assembly hall. Classes were grudgingly allowed to come in for short periods to watch the moon landing preparations and final landing. The time for *Minchah* came and boys were being called to prayer, yet still a group lingered around the set. One of the rabbis bustled in obviously annoyed. 'Come, *daven Minchah*, it's time. Leave that, it is not important. *Minchah* is more important, come'. There could be no compromise with Orthodoxy.

Challenges to scientific knowledge could occur over such apparently trivial matters as getting Sabin oral vaccines against poliomyelitis. Teams of doctors travel round the schools in the State, administering the vaccine almost as a routine measure. The day is known beforehand, parents sign a form giving their consent, classes assemble *en masse* and, despite interruption to classwork, the whole business is over and done with relatively quickly.

Not so for some boys in my own Form. Just prior to trooping over to the hall to get their doses, two boys protested in all apparent sincerity that the vaccine was *tref*, and could not be taken without breaking the *kasruth* laws.[1] Would I give an opinion please? My hesitant reply did not satisfy the boys, who promptly went to seek the rabbi's advice, before going to get their vaccine.

Kasruth prohibitions cropped up several times during the year. The most obvious occurred during a stop at a small country shop to get a snack on an extended geography excursion with my own Form. The available food was inspected carefully, its *kosher* quality discussed at length, and then rejected in favour of soft drinks and potato crisps. Several boys appeared to go hungry rather than risk buying something they were uncertain about.

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[1] *Tref* (Heb.) - lit. 'torn'. Meat unfit for consumption. By extension applied to any ritual impure food. Its opposite is *kosher*.

(b) Challenges to customary behaviour

Challenges to customary behaviour occurred. A number relating to days of *Chol Ha-moed* and making religious artifacts have already been discussed, and are examples of the countervailing curriculum operating against secular work. However, I was surprised to see beliefs about proper and fit behaviour extend into sports periods.

One incident occurred when members of my own Form were required to play a kind of team race, in which they had to lie prone with their heads between the legs of other boys in a line. The young Chassid came into the classroom, his face red with righteous indignation. 'It's immoral. We should not be expected to play that game. I think it's indecent and should be banned in the school'. There could be no doubting for one moment that he and a number of others were genuinely upset at being ordered to take part in what, to them, was an indecent game. Whether they took the matter further by seeing the rabbi, I do not know, but the game was never played again.

Religious ritual behaviour is challenged whenever boys go on an excursion. One of the first questions they ask concerns the availability of water to wash their hands before a meal, and a place in which they can pray *Minchah.* The latter is not always vital if the group can get back to school, and pray in the *shul* before the time for this prayer expires. However, washing the hands and saying the Blessing and Grace are of vital importance for the more Orthodox boys.

Their solution is to take with them an aluminium pitcher to pour the water, a towel to dry the hands, and small prayer books for as many as want them. The visit of third and fourth Forms to the Royal Melbourne Show saw one of the most Orthodox boys getting off the bus with a pile of prayer books, and a pitcher wrapped up in the towel. Apparently he knew of a tap in an unfrequented corner of the Showgrounds. One of my geography excursions had to be so planned that the lunch stop would occur at a place where the boys could wash their hands. This some fifty percent did, at a tap on the reserve, before taking over one of the picnic rotundas in which to eat their lunch. As usual this was accompanied by Blessings and Grace.

In mid-year, the visit to a neighbouring high school by my own Form to sit for the C.S.S.E. posed fewer problems. A classroom had been set aside in which the boys could eat lunch, after washing their hands in the cloakrooms. I brought food, and we ate lunch together. Afterwards the boys said the *Minchah* prayer, one of them leading the rest. He stood facing a wall and recited most of the prayers off by heart. Another boy stood at his elbow to act as prompter when he faltered. As he told me afterwards the Lubavitcher order of prayer differs from that used in his own *shul*, and he found it difficult to follow.

All the boys took part though with varying degrees of observance, swaying automatically in time with the cadence of prayer. One was dilatory in getting to his feet and had to be sharply spoken to by the young Chassid before joining the rest. I had noticed some reluctance slightly earlier, when Z_______ wanted a group to say Grace with him. He was reduced to pounding on the table crying '*benschen mit mir*' before getting the requisite numbers together.[2]

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[2] *Benschen mit mir* (Yidd.) 'say Grace with me'.

After *Minchah* the boys went to the playground, where the majority played basketball, keeping themselves segregated in one court. Here they were quite conspicuous and obviously different from the other, more casually dressed students, by virtue of their *yarmelkehs*, caps, and school suits. My hat completed our group identification. Several jeers came from other students, and on two occasions a stone was lobbed in our direction.

This was not uncommon, several of my boys informed me. More often than not, most provocation and even physical assault comes from non-observant Jewish boys rather than from *goyim*. In the previous year, the boys had been disturbed and attacked during their lunch and prayers by others, and a fracas had developed. From firsthand experience I was able to share in the feeling of being persecuted and the apprehension of both my boys and the Principal, which had resulted in his request that I should stay with the boys during their lunch time.

In this instance, the effects of the countervailing curriculum were mostly indirect results of the requirements of the Great Tradition obtruding into what was essentially a keystone in the Academic Tradition, i.e. its examination system. Similar tensions were generated for boys from fifth and sixth Forms, when they sat for their final School Leaving and Matriculation Examinations held at the Exhibition Buildings in the city. The problems of prayers, lunch, washing hands were all present at a time when maximum concentration was needed on academic matters.

(c) Influences on attitudes and values

Although something of the boys' attitudes can be inferred from their behaviours - the objection of form Four boys to the 'immoral game' is indicative of their attitudes towards the sports master's requirements, for instance - there were incidents when the Great Tradition coloured boys' opinions and expressed attitudes to both school life and world events.

Here we see not only Judaism operating in the narrow sense of the body of religious beliefs and practices, but the wider totality of Jewishness to which it is central. This is 'the sum total of the many varied ways in which people called Jews wish to identify as such. Prominent among them is a strong sense of peoplehood and national unity' (Medding, 1968: 13).

This totality found its most overt expression on the occasion when secular lessons were abandoned for the afternoon to enable all the secondary school, except for the sixth Form boys, to go into the city to see the film *This Day in Israel*. The occasion was also marked by a visit to the school from the new Israeli consul to see the boys at work in several classrooms. Like comparable events, the visit to the film generated considerable anticipatory excitement on the preceding days. In consequence, discussions during normal lessons frequently veered onto the subject of Israel and Zionism.[3] The boys in my Form expressed their support militantly, fists clenched and faces tight with fierce determination. They carefully explained that the Lubavitcher Movement supports Zionism, although some ultra-Orthodox groups do not, as they feel that the fulfilment of Biblical prophecies should be achieved by peaceful means and not by force.

Once the boys had found out where my own sympathies lie over the Israel question, they needed little encouragement during lessons to express other opinions about their Jewishness. Seemingly unrelated incidents in class would prompt their comments. A casual mention of law courts in the neighbourhood, during a geography lesson, brought a swift remark from one fourth Former: 'We have a very good system there are State laws and religious laws'. As usual this provoked a flurry of comments from others, among whom the Lubavitchers were clearly the keenest to provide information both for me and their peers.

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[3] The movement to secure the return of Jews to Israel.

The hold exerted over some boys' imagination and loyalty by the Lubavitcher Movement is very obvious. It came out in class discussion, in requests to help the youth group activities, and in casual interaction settings. Once I was standing in the playground watching a basketball game at the end of the year. A young Chassid came dashing up in great excitement with a picture from *Time Magazine*, which showed the Lubavitcher Rebbe being visited by the Mayor of New York. 'There', he said triumphantly, 'that shows how important the Lubavitcher Rebbe is. The Mayor won because he got the support of Jews who make up thirty percent of the vote. What do you think of that?'

The heavy demands of the matriculation course did not prevent similar interruptions from the countervailing curriculum. The topic of nationalism in the social studies course almost invariably provoked comments about Israel, even though the matriculation boys as a group had opted not to see the film. Their secular studies were more important they had claimed. Once again the Lubavitcher Rebbe was referred to, during one lesson, as a supporter of Israel. Although the boys were equally as militant about Zionism as the fourth Formers, their comments had religious overtones lacking in the more junior Form. Israel was founded on religious grounds. Jerusalem would be retained and not handed back to the Arabs - the current bone of contention at the time - as this is the fulfilment of Biblical prophesy, even though the founding of the Third Temple had yet to take place. It would be merely a matter of time, as it had been prophesied by the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

This last pronouncement, coming from D_______, was most surprising as I had not thought of him as a Lubavitcher supporter. He went on to stress that the Movement was unique in Judaism by virtue of its proselytising activities and militant faith. Like all boys, who talked about their faith, he spoke quite naturally and unselfconsciously, with obvious interest and lively concern. I could not help making mental comparisons with other religious schools at which I had taught, where such matters would have provoked embarrassed amusement among boys, if they were discussed at all.

Such matter-of-fact attitudes towards Jewishness also extended into non-religious topics provoked by something or other in an academic lesson. On occasions this gave insights into boys' backgrounds that could be disturbing for me, even though treated with apparent casualness by them. One incident arose out of a lesson on kinship networks and lineages, which formed part of the fourth Form geography course. After I had drawn the classical genealogical diagram on the board by way of illustration, I noticed one boy industriously drawing. His sketch turned out to be a lineage diagram of his own family. A large number of the symbols had been blacked in to signify deaths. Dates were indicated against them, all ominously within a narrow time span. 'Most of my relatives came from Eastern Europe, and died in concentration camps', the boy explained quietly, his face expressionless and any feelings concealed by the masked look I had seen in others, when sensitive topics were being discussed. Several of his neighbours were listening, and nodded: it appeared they too had suffered similar losses. To me, this was the quintessence of the overt countervailing curriculum and a stark insight into one facet of the 'totality of Jewishness'.

(4) The covert operation of the countervailing curriculum

Whereas the overt effects of the countervailing curriculum are manifest in the verbal interactions of those within interaction settings, its covert effects are less easy to reconstruct. They arise from other components in the total 'environment of objects' to which each individual will attach meanings. Thus we should take into account such aspects as spatial arrangements, artifacts, inanimate symbolic communication - signs, notices, display material - together with the 'inarticulate experience' derived from the actions of others. Their meanings for individuals in interaction settings can be assumed to complement those already explicated through the overt countervailing curriculum.

(a) Artifacts in the environment

The classroom contains a medley of artifacts relating to both traditions. Boys' phylacteries in their bright, velvet bags can be seen in desks, on cupboard tops, even on a window sill if it is conveniently situated near a boy's place in class. Religious books may be neatly arranged in cupboards, though quite often, especially following a period of religious instruction, they are left in apparent disorder on top of the teacher's table. A *mezuzah* is attached to the jamb of the doorway. Those artifacts one customarily associates with classrooms are also littered around, or kept neatly in their appointed places according to the tidiness of the teacher and boys. These are blackboard dusters, chalk, rulers, board compasses and other geometrical equipment, models used for demonstrating scientific principles, textbooks of all descriptions. A duality is at once apparent in the two types of artifacts, as there is in virtually every component in the school.

The meanings artifacts have for some boys can be inferred from their behaviours towards them. It is quite apparent that a diversity of meanings is in operation at one and the same time in any classroom. For instance, the *mezuzah* means something to those boys who touch it consistently when passing through the door, another thing to those who are inconsistent, and something else to boys who do not touch it at all. From the latter, we cannot infer that the *mezuzah* means nothing. Possibly, even for these, it has some meaning, but not sufficient nor of the kind to generate observable behaviours. For boys such as these the *mezuzah* might still stand as an omnipresent reminder of what they should observe as Orthodox Jews. The picture is further complicated by the great variations in the frequency of touching the *mezuzah*. On rare occasions a whole class could troop out, not one boy touching it. On other occasions, fifty percent of the same class would observe this *mitzvah*.

Meanings attached to religious books could also be inferred from behaviours. Some boys treated them disrespectfully, while others accorded them obvious respect. What was an apparently meaningless disorder to the outside observer concealed an order meaningful to the Jewish boy. A pile of religious books on my table, for instance, was so arranged that unknown to me no other book lay on top of *Chumash*, although it may lie on top of books of lower 'rank' such as Books of the Prophets.[4] This is a sign of respect for *Chumash*.

My unwitting transgression early in the year when I went to place one of my secular books on top of *Chumash* brought an explanation of the action's meaning from one of my Form. Later in the year, the same absent-minded action produced a warning hiss '*Chumash*' from T_______ and a mild reproof. From this it was quite clear that, having once been told the meaning of the action, I should now know and behave appropriately, i.e. as an Orthodox Jew should.

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[4] The rules (meanings) of the way books must be treated are itemised in detail - *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 28, 3-10.

Meanings were seldom made so explicit. During a current affairs discussion in fourth Form, talk veered to the wearing of the *yarmelkeh*. This was prompted by a photograph we had all seen in that morning's paper of the Australian Prime Minister, a non-Jew, wearing one at an official Jewish dinner attended by prominent members of Melbourne's Jewry. The boys were contemptuously amused and caustic in their comments about what to them was a pretentious act. 'He doesn't know how to behave', they said, i.e. that's not the meaning of wearing the *yarmelkeh*. 'But what about me wearing one or my hat?' I ventured to ask. 'That's different, you know what it means', came the reply. Recalling the occasions in some fifth Form boys' homes during coaching sessions, when I had worn either a hat or a *yarmelkeh* only to sense the action was incorrect, I could not be entirely convinced by my Form's assurance. I also remembered the time early on in research, when I had *not* worn a hat during a visit to my informant's home, and had been kindly told of my error. As an anthropologist I should have *known* what to do, my informant said.

We can see from the above not only that the countervailing curriculum involves the cultural constructions of meanings, but that these vary according to the logic of the situation in which the actions and artifacts are concerned. Moreover, like incidents described in the operation of the overt countervailing curriculum, it seems apparent that different systems of logic are being used to construct meanings. The logic of scientific knowledge, for instance, is not similar to metaphysical logic. The diversion into a discussion about placing books on top of *Chumash*, prompted by its mere presence on the table as an inanimate component of the interaction setting, was initially generated by two systems of logic - the Orthodox boys' and mine. Our logics coincided when I knew what they knew and behaved accordingly, i.e. accepted for the time being their system of logic. My assumed knowledge of when and where to keep on my hat or wear a *yarmelkeh* might be interpreted in a similar way. I knew, according to my boys, because I had accepted the logic behind dressing this way. The Prime Minister may not have, and thus did not know.

During lessons where incidents such as the above occur, it is quite apparent that the boys are influenced by the countervailing curriculum. Not only are they learning knowledge that is potentially at odds with, and dysfunctional for, the academic curriculum, but its very logic is also being challenged. During the time when the diversion into Jewish matters obtains, the boys are learning in a context within which the Great Tradition is dominant. As Keddie has observed (1973: 17) 'the learning of any "logic" is a highly situated activity which cannot be treated as though it were context-free if it is to become part of the life-world of the learner and to be understood by him at all'.

(b) Symbolic media of communication in the environment

Most interaction settings within the school complex have material on display which relates to both Traditions. In the fifth Form room, a large chart occupied part of the pin-board on the rear wall. Published by the Lubavitcher Movement, it lists in Hebrew and English the thirty nine labours forbidden on *Shabbos*. At the beginning of the Jewish year the Lubavitcher students drew up a chart in Hebrew showing the exact dates and times for daily prayers, the lighting of *Shabbos* candles and putting on *tephillin*, and added this to the board display. A diagram and detailed instructions showing the correct way to attach phylacteries also appeared. This was part of a *tephillin* campaign which was advertised in *The Australian Jewish News*, and supported by a 'pastoral' letter from the Lubavitcher Rebbe displayed prominently on a notice board in the foyer of the *shul*. Both pieces of advertising leave no doubt as to the directness of the message and the logic to which it adheres (Appendix 5.3).

My own Form room had religious posters on the display board. Form three had none. Forms one and two had neatly printed cards in Hebrew and English, written by the boys, proclaiming maxims from Talmud such as 'Speak little. Do a lot'; 'Respect comes before learning'. Form two also had on display large charts depicting the founding of the Tabernacle by the Children of Israel in the wilderness, and, in diagrammatic form, the library of the books of the Law and divisions of Talmud. Display material also tended to change according to the approaching Festival. *Pesach* saw drawings of the *Seder* plate in Form one. The *menorah* was drawn at *Chanukah*.

In stark contrast to these display materials, are those relating to the Academic Tradition and curriculum. They vary according to the lesson topic, but in due season are pinned up on the display board next to material of the Great Tradition. Tangible evidence of two logics and meanings are thus juxtaposed for all who care to look at it.

What meanings boys attach to such displays is uncertain. Certainly, for those boys who draw religious display material - mostly in the more junior Forms and primary Grades - it has a meaning or else they would not labour so industriously at the task. As most academic material is either commercially produced or developed by the teacher, similar work in this sphere for boys is limited. Yet striking contrasts can still be seen. At the height of the excitement over the moon landings, some boys in Form one took advantage of lessons meant for examination revision to draw both religious and secular pictures. Sketching of space ships proliferated, accompanied by earnest discussions about what Martians or other denizens of outer space might look like. Amidst this hubbub a couple of boys serenely blocked in the Hebrew symbols of another saying from Talmud, *circa* third Century C.E.

At the same time of the year in Form two, the board contained a number of cards with sayings from the *Torah* and Talmud, written in English and Hebrew:

> THE MORE TORAH STUDY, THE MORE LIFE.
> THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.
> WHERE THERE IS NO TORAH, THERE IS NO BREAD.
> WHERE THERE IS NO BREAD, THERE IS NO TORAH.
> THE BASHFUL CANNOT LEARN.
> WHO IS RICH? HE WHO IS CONTENT WITH HIS LOT.

Charts were also on display showing various Biblical scenes including the marshalling of the Tribes of Israel around the Ark in the desert wilderness. In close proximity was a boy's drawing of the moon landing, and a large newspaper photograph of the same event depicting man's greatest scientific achievement - in a lunar wilderness.

Materials displayed elsewhere in the school campus usually refer specifically to the Great Tradition. They are 'pastoral' letters from the Lubavitcher Rebbe in English, Hebrew and Yiddish (Appendix 4.11), *shul* notices, Lubavitcher Youth advertisements and the like. Where they are in English and even Hebrew, boys can make sense out of them and derive meanings. Those in Yiddish - commonly in a form of compressed code as in Talmud, in which one phrase stands for a whole passage - are much less likely to have meaning for boys. Other communications, such as letters from the Chief Rabbi in Israel, or news items accompanied by photographs, are more likely to be meaningful.

Static display material of the type discussed is augmented by at least two other types of printed matter accessible to boys in interaction settings. One is the monthly religious pamphlet *Talks and Tales* published by *Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch* in New York, the official outlet for the Lubavitcher Movement. Many boys subscribe to it and, as one said when he saw me reading a copy, 'Are you interested in those? There are hundreds around the place'. The publication contains such aspects as commentaries from the Midrash, notes on religious rituals, moralistic stories, biographies of great figures in Judaism, and 'things to remember' relating to the current Festivals.

The other type of publication is the Form papers run off on a spirit duplicator. These contain topical skits, cartoons, short religious homilies, Yiddish jokes, and examples of schoolboy humour often commenting on some happening in the school. Both English and Hebrew feature in articles. Several editions were produced by the third Form during the year, and went the rounds of other Forms, where they might be read surreptitiously during some religious and secular lessons. The third Formers were inordinately proud of what they had produced, and would noisily advertise the newspaper's availability during classwork.

(c) Dualism of languages in symbolic media

An important feature of the great majority of religious material is the two languages in which the whole or parts are printed. English and Hebrew commonly appear on the same sheet. In the case of the Lubavitcher Rebbe's letters English, Hebrew and Yiddish versions are available. Such juxtaposition of languages emphasizes in a quite fundamental way the duality of the learning experiences available to the boys. The development of logics and thought are determined by language, i.e. by the linguistic tools of thought, and by the symbolically-mediated socio-cultural experience of the child. Language is crucial in the construction of knowledge as Berger and Luckmann note (1971: 85-6):

> Language objectivates the shared experiences and makes them available to all within the linguistic community, thus becoming both the basis and the instrument of the collective stock of knowledge. Furthermore, language provides the means for objectifying new experiences, allowing their incorporation into the already existing stock of knowledge, and it is the most important means by which the objectivated and objectified sedimentations are transmitted in the tradition of the collectivity in question.

We need only extend this view, by considering the plural languages present in interaction settings at the school, to appreciate that two sets of experiences are being objectivated, two stocks of knowledge augmented, and 'sedimentations' transmitted in two traditions. Indeed, two cultures are being mediated to the boys. As Landes has suggested (1967: 306), language is a syllabus of a culture: here we have two languages.

The influence of Hebrew as a countervailing curriculum can only be hypothesized. Suffice to say that it could be more than would occur if a child were learning English and another foreign language such as French. The connotations of Hebrew are many and varied (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965: 179-180). It is the Holy Tongue in which the Bible is written: 'the language spoken by the angels', as the rabbis say (*Hag*. 16a). It is the language of prayer and the official language of the State of Israel. At a more mundane level, it is the language used in the school during a great proportion of the time when the formal curriculum of the Great Tradition is being studied. In comparison with English, its alphabet, phonetic system, vocabulary, grammar, sentence, and word formation are all strikingly different. Even the mechanical tasks of writing and reading Hebrew are different - from right to left across the page, and from the 'back' of the book to the 'front'.

One effect of these mechanical differences is at once apparent when boys write in English. Their letter formation, general neatness, and legibility often compare unfavourably with the writing of same-age pupils in State and Independent schools. Switching from one language style to another, in the short space of time allowed the boys at the school, may also involve a major adjustment in logical processes and the acquisition of meanings.

It is often possible to watch this switch occur during lessons when junior boys are doing free work. Books in English are put away and Hebrew readers are taken out. Painstaking transcription of phrases and sentences into exercise books begins, slowly at first but speeding up as the boy gets into the cadence of the Hebrew. He reads through what he has written with evident pride, putting a finishing touch here and there in the script. Unconsciously he may begin to rock backwards and forwards, his lips moving as words are sounded *sotto voce*. The work is finished. If the book is *Chumash*, the boy closes it carefully, kisses it reverently and puts it away. His whole manner changes subtly as he takes out a secular book, and 'returns' to the logic and behaviour of the English work, which he had put aside to enter the language-culture of the Hebrew.

(d) Inarticulate experience as a countervailing influence

For those of his peers watching, such a boy is a countervailing influence by the very meanings his actions convey. There are many such in the school. Each provides role models through the inarticulate experience available to others in interaction settings. We can identify those whose behaviour style is obviously influential to judge from the observable reactions of others.

A Lubavitcher student is a focus of others' expectations. When an apparent secular stimulus is present, such as my statements about the creation of the world, boys look across to him with the obvious unspoken question - what will he say or do? He may, in fact, do or say nothing, but by his very presence thoughts are obviously turned from the secular work in train to the potential countervailing influence of Lubavitcher ideology. It may have been purely coincidental that a Lubavitcher student was placed in each of Forms three to six, and was invariably a role model to which other boys tended to look on such occasions. No better way of inculcating Lubavitcher ideology by indirect means could have been devised.

(5) Summary

As the first step in explaining why boys might be exposed to stress in forming constructions of reality in the school, a number of elements have been identified through the application of the enculturation matrix paradigm. A pronounced dualism has been shown to prevail in the school in a number of areas associated with its teaching-learning situations.

The result of the dualism is to present boys with two different bodies of knowledge and their respective logics, neither of which is adequate material for *praxis*, nor guidelines for social behaviours and interpersonal relationships. In the interaction settings where teaching-learning occurs, a form of countervailing curriculum operates, which inhibits a firm construction of reality in one of the traditions because it is constantly under subtle challenge from the other. Enculturation interference occurs both overtly and covertly, and is assumed to exacerbate the problematical nature of reality construction.

CHAPTER 18

TOWARDS A THEORY OF ENCULTURATION DISSONANCE

The general orientation of this study was that if a school representing a socio-cultural group with a firmly articulated world view educates its pupils in a situation where they are also exposed to elements of a rival world view from the macro-society, then they may show evidence of strain or dissonance in constructing reality. Parts Two and Three have shown significantly high levels of anxiety, aggression, conflict-tension, and periodic harassment of both religious and secular teaching staff. Boys also see themselves as prone to violence. The purpose of this chapter is to advance an explanation of the connection between these phenomena and the types of enculturation interference discussed in the previous chapter.

Following Bateson (1958: 280-281), I take explanation to mean fitting data together in a way which seems to make most sense, and leaves least data unaccounted for. It is not intended to 'prove' a hypothesis, as none was formally proposed initially. The success of the explanation, in terms of a grounded theory of enculturation dissonance developed in this chapter, may be judged by the degree to which it commands the reader's assent (Redfield, 1956: 70 ff.).

(1) Types and sources of stress among Jews

(a) The evidence for neurotic reactions to stress

To what extent can the behaviour of the boys be considered 'normal' or indicative of stress? There is firstly the very considerable difficulty of specifying 'Jewish' behavioural characteristics, which would enable us to establish by comparison whether the boys' behaviour is indicative of stress or merely 'typically Jewish'.[1] However, there is some evidence to suggest that Jews react to stress in ways that are different from other religious groups, and very similar to the behaviour of boys at the school.

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[1] I am indebted for this advice to correspondence with Professor John Cawte of the School of Psychiatry, The University of New South Wales.

An early study in 1950 reported by Myers and Roberts (1958: 551-559) surveyed the urban population of Newhaven on the east coast of the United States to determine the distribution of psychiatric illness. It was found that, compared with Catholics and Protestants, Jews had a 'much higher rate of neurosis'. In addition, a 'significantly higher occurrence of psychoneurosis' was found among native-born as opposed to foreign-born Jews. One accepts such findings with caution as the authors point out (ibid., p. 555) that the survey was not a true prevalence study of psychiatric illness, but was limited to those people under treatment by a psychiatrist. The findings do suggest, however, that if maladjustment occurs among Jews it may take psychoneurotic rather than other forms.

Supporting evidence in the case of Melbourne Jews is given by Krupinski and others (1973), and Stoller and Krupinski (1973: 267).[2] In a survey of psychiatric illness in Melbourne, Jewish refugees in the sample had the highest rate of severe neurotic symptoms, which was associated significantly with their war experiences. More significantly, over a quarter of the Jewish refugees reported psychological problems in their children. Sharpe (1973: 34) has pointed out, for Melbourne Jewry in general, that '40 percent of the caseload [of the Jewish Welfare Society] had current or recent contact with a psychiatric clinic or private psychiatrist'.

Kurt Lewin (1948: 170) suggested that 'typical signs of Jewish maladjustment [are] over-tension, loudness, over-aggressiveness, excessively hard work'. All these behaviours are evident among many boys at the school, and may point, if not to maladjustment, at least to stress in their lives. For some, the former is more likely. Social welfare workers of the Jewish Welfare Society have commented that a significant number of boys at the school are known to have severe maladjustment problems, with symptoms that include stuttering, facial tics, enuresis, and allied pathological stress syndrome.[3] Three cases of mental breakdown or severe mental disturbance among the boys were known to the writer at the time of the study.

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[2] Also from a brief, personal discussion with Dr Stoller.

(b) Factors contributing to stress among boys at Lubavitcher School

There seems little doubt that the boys' behaviours at the school are indicative of psychological maladjustment in some cases, and of stress in others. The causes of stress and maladjustment cannot be identified with precision, but one must look at the home backgrounds, general ethnic minority status, and school experiences as potential contributing factors.

There is first the possibility that the behaviour of some boys is an outcome of parental pressures to do well in their studies. Evidence from teacher-parent interviews described in Part Two supports extreme parental concern over work in general, and about success in the yearly examinations. Stress may also result where parents are over-protective and smothering, spoiling the boy as if to compensate for what they themselves could not enjoy due to their own disrupted lives in Europe.

A further source of stress can lie in parents' own disturbed and pathological states. A Canadian study (Trossman, 1968) showed that Jewish adolescents with parents, who had had severe concentration camp experiences, exhibited pathological symptoms which ran the gamut from stuttering to examination anxiety. Both are prevalent among boys at the school.

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[3] From personal consultations with social welfare workers at the time of fieldwork for this study.

Additionally, sometimes the only solution open to a boy with such parents, and who was conflicted in seeing the irrationality of their bitterness whilst knowing its cause, was to become as mistrustful and paranoid as them.

As ethnographic data have shown, some boys do articulate real or fancied connections between persecutions experienced by Jews and their predisposition to react to stress by violence and aggression. It is known that a significant proportion of parents of boys in the Middle and Senior School suffered in concentration camps or war-time Europe. Evidence of how boys can generate comments or incidents in class, that give an insight into these aspects of their parents' backgrounds, has been given above.

The influence of parental backgrounds may also provide an explanation for boys' systematic and vindictive harassment of some staff, and their boasts about engineering a secular teacher's dismissal. Both may be a form of collective revenge for either actual or imagined persecution, and may even constitute a form of paranoia. A Melbourne psychiatrist, with whom the boys' behaviours were discussed, gave a clinical view based on his knowledge of the large proportion of Jewish adolescents in his case load.[4] Many boys could be said to be suffering from a form of grandiose paranoia when they articulate such boasts and harass staff. In effect, they are working out a lot of the frustrations arising from their upbringing by taking revenge on staff, who they identify as authority figures responsible for the frustrations. However, most staff are not authoritarian by nature, nor are they responsible for the boys' frustrations, but are being deluded into thinking they are. When they then act in an authoritarian manner, teachers set up a vicious circle which confirms the boys' paranoid suspicions, and aggravates the social exchanges. Authoritarian teaching also fulfils the expectations of the parents and the school, but, when adopted, also sets up the vicious circle.

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[4] To preserve the customary professional confidentiality, the psychiatrist concerned has asked not to be identified by name.

The status of Jews as a minority group within the wider Australian society may produce the types of behaviour, which Allport (1954) and Yarrow (1958) suggest are various defence mechanisms against discrimination and hostility. These include neuroticism, self-hatred and aggression towards one's own group, and feelings of insecurity, which show themselves in alertness and sensitiveness, sometimes developing into high levels of hypersensitiveness. In the case of boys at Lubavitcher School, it is clear that some discrimination against them comes from other, not so Orthodox, Jews in the wider Jewish community. However, it is also clear from boys' constructions of their worlds of objects that their lives are very largely carried on within the Jewish culture island of the neighbourhood, which might be expected to provide a form of protective ecological cluster. Data also indicate that boys' social networks are broadly confined to a Jewish 'ethclass' (Gordon 1964), which would provide further support and reinforcement.

Despite their plausibility, such psychological explanations must be accepted with caution. At most they indicate the likely forms boys' reactions to stress might take, and also alert us to the established fact that a significant proportion of boys at the school are stress-prone to the degree of being maladjusted. They do not isolate with certainity the sources of stress *within* the school. Sufficient evidence suggests that internal factors are at work. It is difficult otherwise to explain the situational and cyclical nature of the boys' behaviour. Tension, anxiety and euphoria reach their peaks before secular examinations and religious celebrations, but decline during the intervening periods, although they are always a persistent feature of the school complex. Given that Jews have a predisposition to react to stress in ways that psychiatrists have identified, a further question must be asked in relation to the situation of the school itself: what stimulates stress behaviours that are markedly situational and cyclical?

(2) Social needs and matrix constraints at Lubavitcher School

The concept of the enculturation imperative postulated in Chapter 2 assumes that, for the child, the process of enculturation is categorical, that is, it brooks no denial. Provided that he has opportunities for interaction with animate and inanimate components of the enculturation matrices that he encounters, the developing child must perforce construct a view of the self and reality. But this can only be achieved by incorporating meanings and knowledge from matrix components into the self. Some of the needs of the social group to which the child belongs thus become his needs, augmenting those other physiological needs with which he was genetically endowed, and the more diffuse drives of his individual biography. 'That is, the individual is a construct produced and shared in conjunction with others. They are not "out there", compared with me "in here", but they produce "me" and I produce "them". As a social being, I am in fact always "we"' (Edgar, 1974: 670).

At the early, informal stage of enculturation, the developing child is probably unaware of his social needs, as the mental set in which they are incorporated has had insufficient time to crystallize. By the time he has reached the stage of formal enculturation, more and more crystallization will have occurred, so that the child is conscious of a growing proportion of his needs, and can articulate them. He is also aware when they are not being satisfied, and may also be perceptive enough to recognize *why* they are not being satisfied. That is, he can identify the constraints and limitations which are external to him in a given situation. By the adolescent stage of formal enculturation, more of his self is available to introspection, and can be stated with confidence. This is the 'present-self', the self that is at the moment. However, the child also may have an intuition of the 'future-self', the self that is to be, *but* can only be achieved by interaction and negotiation with the constraints of the enculturation matrices through which self is actualized.

The child is thus confronted with a situation where his attempts to produce his (future) self in action are dependent on the kind and strength of constraints in his enculturation matrices.[5] Where his self-actualizing needs are not impeded, the constraints may be said to match needs in a congruent relationship, which produces a sense of satisfaction in the child. He has a sense of direction, and knows more or less where he is going. He is being allowed to produce his self in action. On the other hand, where needs are not matched by constraints, i.e. where constraints have the negative sense of limitations, a dissonance relationship ensues, which produces in the child feelings of dissatisfaction and tension. These are the two polar positions of a congruence - dissonance continuum, which determines the behavioural reactions of the child as he strives for *praxis*.

(a) The needs of boys

We have seen from Part Three that boys have constructions of reality and of their selves, from which it is possible to infer their major, conscious needs. These are to learn to be Orthodox Jews, and to participate in learning and intellectual activity with a view to academic achievement, and future careers that are upwardly socially mobile in comparison with those of their fathers. From the results of the thematic apperception and sentence completion questionnaires, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that boys have a high degree of unconscious achievement motivation (*n*Ach). Although these more formal research instruments were not intended to duplicate those of McClelland and his associates (1953), they nonetheless produced results indicating that many fourth Form boys possess 'latent disposition[s] to strive towards a standard of excellence [which] should not be confused with any broad notion of trying to better oneself and get on in life' (Jahoda, 1970: 35). We can thus assume that boys are unconsciously motivated to achieve their perceived needs, whether they be in the religious or secular domains.

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[5] This section draws on the fundamental ideas of need-press theory (Murray, 1938; Murray & Kluckhohn, 1953; Stern, 1962a, 1962b, 1967) and dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957, 1964; Festinger & Carlsmith, 1958; Festinger & Aronson, 1968).

Moreover, as Jews, they are placed in the highly favourable situation where both home and cultural influences are supportive of a high degree of *n*Ach. Standards of excellence are imposed on a developing child by enculturation agents, of which the most important for early formation of high achievement motivation are parents. They impart to the child their expectations that he is to perform well in relation to the standards of excellence valued by the culture. In time he internalizes such expectations, so that he comes to have them of himself. 'Learning to respond to such standards and expectations of high performance can be conceived of as learning a cognitive map of the world in which these standards and expectations are, so to speak, a relevant part of the terrain' (Rosen & D'Andrade, 1969: 78).

The role of parents in developing high achievement motivation in their children has been examined by the same authors. Fathers of high n Achievement boys tend to contribute more to their independence training than do the mothers. They, on the other hand, tend to stress achievement training, rather than independence training. As Rosen and D'Andrade note (ibid., p. 83): 'Observers report that the mothers of high n Achievement boys tend to be striving, competent persons. Apparently they expect their sons to be the same'.

Rosen has taken the concept of n Achievement further in an examination of differences between the upward mobility rates of a number of ethnic groups, including Jews (Rosen, 1959). It constitutes one component of 'the individual's psychological and cultural orientation towards achievement ... The second and third components are cultural factors, one consisting of certain *value orientations* which implement achievement-motivated behavior, the other of culturally-influenced *educational-vocational aspiration levels*. ... This motive-value-aspiration complex has been called the *Achievement Syndrome*'. Jews were found to stress achievement motivations, and are more likely to possess achievement values and higher educational and vocational aspirations than the Italians and French-Canadians in the sample used.

The reality constructions of the boys at Lubavitcher School are obviously compatible with these and similar findings from other studies (e.g. Strodtbeck, 1958). They also support the role of the Jewish mothers in placing stress on their sons' achievement training, and provide a partial explanation for the predominance of mothers at the teacher-parent interviews we have noted above. Both through their own internalized high n Achievement, and by the continuing pressures of their mothers, who were partly responsible for it in the first place, boys bring to the school their needs to attain high achievement, and high educational and vocational aspirations. Many also want to learn how to be Orthodox Jews.

(b) Constraints in the school complex

Constraints have been identified through the 'reconstructed logic' of the external observer, but it is important to note that boys will be influenced by *their perceptions* of the constraints. Stern (1962a: 29) has drawn attention to this factor and the issue of idiosyncratic versus consensual perceptions, in the closely analogous need-press theory:

> In the ultimate sense of the term, press refers to the phenomenological world of the individual, the unique and inevitably private view which each person has of the events in which he takes part ... [but] there is a point at which this private world merges with that of others ... Both the private and the mutually shared press are of interest in their own right, but, in the final analysis, the inferences we make as observers about the events in which others participate are the ultimate source of a taxonomy of situational variables.

The dominant factor in the need of boys attending the school is effective learning. For the young Chassid and average Orthodox boys it is the pathway to Judaism, the *sine qua non* of Orthodoxy, enshrined in tradition, enjoined in Biblical commandments, and constantly reiterated in rabbinical writings. For all boys, whether religious or less religious, learning is the means to educational-vocational aspirations. The high n Achievement level of boys can thus apply in both religious and secular domains. As Strizower has suggested (1964: 150): 'Jews belong simultaneously to two esteem systems, that of their own society and that of the host society'. Success, i.e. gaining esteem in either one or the other, or both, is heavily dependent on learning. It can be assumed with some confidence that boys will assess the constraints at the school in terms of their success in facilitating learning. Anything that frustrates it might be expected to cause dissonance. If this cannot be reduced, frustration and stress are likely to result.

(c) Strategies for reducing perceived dissonance

The school has been shown to consist of two enculturation matrices. Each has its own constraints, some of which are sources of dissonance. By interacting one with the other, the matrices can also set up a dissonance situation. But, as long as it is consciously perceived, any dissonance that the constraints generate within a matrix seems to be reducible by various strategies open to the boys. In the secular matrix, we have seen that they are adept at engineering reduction of dissonance by various forms of negotiation and bargaining. At examination times, for instance, this results in boys trying to attain what they perceive as clear gains in a few extra marks. Their success goes some way towards satisfying their needs, thus reducing dissonance and heightening satisfaction. Constraints relating to the amount of work from enculturation agents in the secular matrix are manipulated, often to the boys' advantage, and again satisfy their needs.

Due to the small, intimate size of the school and relaxed nature of staff-student relationships outside the classroom, in which the presence of older Lubavitcher students and young rabbis from the *Yeshivah Gedolah* plays some part, affiliative needs are also being met. Constraints due to the decision-making processes among those in authority can often cause dissonance, where boys are kept in ignorance of decisions that might affect their futures. However, the efficient grapevine in the school ensures that little relevant information remains confidential for long, and there is always an obvious air of satisfaction among boys when news leaks out. It is also apparent from their constructions of the networks, which link the school to other educational organizations, that many boys know a great deal about the inner workings and ramifications of the school. Such knowledge might also be a source of satisfaction.

Constraints in the sacred enculturation matrix are likely to satisfy the needs of the young Chassid and average Orthodox boy, but not those of a less Orthodox boy. For him there is a source of dissatisfaction in the uncompromising stand of the rabbis on matters of belief, attendance at collective worship, and adherence to Biblical knowledge. Dissonance is unlikely to be reduced unless the less Orthodox boy opts out of the sacred matrix altogether. Some take this step by not attending the Morning Service or some religious instruction classes. The same method of reducing dissonance is open to boys in the secular matrix. At least one fifth Form boy regularly failed to turn up for classes, preferring instead to devote most of his time to activities connected with the sacred matrix.

Where strain is experienced in performing religious duties, dissonance can be reduced by transferring the problem to a higher authority. We have seen how the need of the Orthodox boys to maintain *kasruth* was a problem, i.e. a source of dissonance, at the time of the Sabin vaccine injections, but was quickly reduced by seeking the opinion of the rabbi. Dissonance caused by having to pray during excursions or at other schools, as during the C.S.S.E. period, is reduced by commonsense strategies, such as taking the necessary ritual equipment, or obtaining a special room in which to pray. Although some anxiety is apparent initially, it is quickly dissipated by advice from the rabbi to take such measures, and dissonance is consequently reduced.

(3) Dissonance from enculturation interference

As the dominant need of the boys is to learn knowledge to assist reality construction, dissonance is most likely to occur in situations where the availability and reliability of knowledge are problematical. At the first level of analysis, we can see this occurring where enculturation interference takes place. Here, the sacred matrix is obdurately opposed to the secular matrix in the case of epistemological dualism, or more subtly in the countervailing curriculum. At a higher level of analysis, however, we can conceptualize a form of interference in what Bateson has termed 'deutero-learning' or 'meta-learning', i.e. learning how to learn (Bateson, 1958: 285-86). To say that enculturation interference at either level 'causes' the behavioural patterns, which have been identified as a source of stress in Jews, is to force explanation beyond what may only be correlation. However, it is likely that enculturation interference will set up dissonance among some boys, but only if this cannot be resolved are their reactions likely to become pathological.

The fundamental reason has been suggested by Lewin (1967: 40). The enculturation matrices can be conceptualized as two force fields. In a situation where there is overlapping of two force fields, conflict and frustration are generated where equally strong but opposite forces result at some part of the field. This results in a dissonance situation. We can extend this analysis by hypothesizing that boys' perceptions of sources of stress and dissonance in matrix constraints may enable them to reduce dissonance. This is more likely to occur at the conscious level of learning, but even here some undetected sources of dissonance may remain. There is greater likelihood of more and unresolvable dissonance at the unconscious level of deutero-learning, with the consequent conflict and frustration Lewin has conceptualized in overlapping force field situations.

(a) Dissonance at the conscious level of learning

A clear example of irreducible dissonance occurred when the sixth

Form boys perceived the encroachments of the sacred matrix on the time demanded for study by the secular matrix. Their deputation to the Principal demanded a reduction, but this was refused, and dissonance remained. However, their dissatisfaction with one senior master was passed on to the Principal, and led to his replacement by a teacher whom the boys perceived as more competent. In the first example, the students' demands were frustrated, with some heightening of tension at the sixth Form level. In the second case there was a lowering of tension. Ironically, however, in the second instance the boys were able to gain better teaching *as they saw it*, but only at the expense of studying late in the evening and attending classes which often went on until 10 p.m., to accommodate the new teacher's times. Yet the net effect was a reduction in tension; the gain in better teaching clearly outweighing the inconvenience and loss of time during the evening.

Both incidents are examples of the congruence-dissonance dimension that is conceptually at the heart of interactions between boys' needs and situational constraints. In broad terms, two enculturation matrices were involved in providing the constraints. In the attempt to reduce the sacred matrix's demands on time, no compromise was obtained from the Principal to meet the needs of the boys, and dissonance was not reduced. Some relief from tension was obtained, however, by altering the constraints of the secular matrix, through appointing a better teacher. The net effect noted was a reduction in dissonance, but not at the expense of the sacred matrix. Indeed, for the boy who was against loss of time for religious activities, any reduction in time devoted to the sacred matrix might well have increased his perceived dissonance.

From the ethnographic data it is apparent that no compromises were made throughout the year in the constraints of the sacred matrix in any Form. In view of its strictly Orthodox character, we might expect this to have been the case in the school. Those boys, who place their religious need above their educational-vocational need, are clearly not disadvantaged. However, their parents express some dissatisfaction at the encroachment the sacred matrix makes into the secular domain, and have commented on the strain it produces in their boys. They also hint that some conflict in the home occurs when boys are more religious than their parents.

Reduction of dissonance due to epistemological dualism is possible by filtering out the cognitions of one world view and opting for the other. It is clear that the Lubavitcher adherents do this through the strategy of seeing scientific knowledge as indeterminate and theoretical, and *Torah*-true knowledge as completely valid. Less Orthodox boys might experience continued dissonance if they cannot accept such an interpretation, and resentment against the Lubavitcher rabbis and young Chassidic supporters, who promote such a view, might be sufficient to cause conflict and hostility. We have seen it flare up occasionally in class against the young Chassid, and some of the hostility shown to teaching rabbis and lay religious teachers can be attributed to this cause. Certainly, there is no way that the less Orthodox boy can reduce dissonance by one of the strategies discussed by Festinger and Aronson (1968: 133), namely, by persuading the more Orthodox Lubavitcher adherents and teachers that they should believe as he does. As we have seen, adherents of the Great Tradition as practised at the school are totally uncompromising.

The reverse situation applies to the young Lubavitcher adherents. Although they might experience dissonance over having some of their peers uncommitted to their Lubavitcher ideology, there is evidence to suggest that they manage to win over a number of boys during the year, such is its charismatic attraction and outreach effectiveness. Any residual dissonance remaining for the Lubavitcher adherents can be resolved by another reduction strategy suggested by Festinger and Aronson (ibid., loc. cit.), namely, by obtaining the support of other believers in the Movement.

It is unlikely that the attitudes and beliefs of the Lubavitcher students and Orthodox boys would change to accommodate dissonance experienced from the secular matrix. As Jahoda has suggested, citing Lombard (1962: 43-56), religious values are most resistant to change. However, it should not be assumed that some attitudinal conflict might not still be present. In two studies of the effects of Western secular values on traditional value systems, Dawson (1969a, 1969b) has found that unresolved attitudinal conflict is highest for traditional, high-affect attitudinal objects such as magic and religion, rather than for non-sectarian objects. Unrecognized dissonance in this dimension may underlie the militancy and arrogance of the young Chassid, which are forms of compensatory behaviour for attitudinal conflict.

A further form of compensatory behaviour might be exhibited by those boys who are neither Orthodox nor academically able. Unable to compete effectively in the activities that gain esteem in either matrix, they occupy a status analogous to that of 'stabilized accommodation'. As a minority group in the Form - and such a group has been shown to exist by sociometric measures - their appropriate responses are defined by the dominants (Marden & Meyer, 1968: 35).

> The psychological costs of this system are high. For the minority person it may effect his perception of reality .... A stabilized subordinate position may create difficulty for a member of the subordinate group in handling repressed hostility and inevitable resentment. A variety of devices often develop to help him ease his psychic burden: clowning, intragroup aggression, fantasy, as well as psychological disorder of greater or lesser severity.

It can be hypothesized in the case of several boys that the demands of having to cope with the constraints of both matrices, instead of being able to concentrate all their energies on one, and possibly succeed and gain esteem, may have been the root cause of their very obvious, pathological behaviour in class.

Other boys may have more success in coping with both matrices. Research and theory suggest (e.g. Gluckman, 1940; Firth, 1954; Barnes, 1962; Mitchell, 1966; Witkin, 1971) that matrix switching or situational selection may be possible without a great degree of strain. Boys can opt for the values, knowledge, and behaviour expected in one matrix, and then 'enter' the other matrix (as they do several times daily) and adopt its values, knowledge, and behaviour. Switching from Hebrew to English, and back again, might be achieved with the same degree of ease. Successful matrix switching is more likely to be accomplished by boys who are academically able, and thus confident performers in either matrix.

(b) Dissonance at the unconscious level of deutero-learning

Enculturation interference resulting from the operation of the countervailing curriculum has the potential to produce varying degrees of dissonance. But it is apparent that they are not of the type which might result in the total opposition of forces in overlapping force fields, that are seen by Lewin as necessary to produce frustration and conflict. Avenues are available for dissonance reduction, where it is perceived by the boys, but at the unconscious level of deutero-learning this may not be the case.

Such stress is placed on learning in the Jewish culture as a whole, and for the boys at the school in particular, that one must speculate whether a higher level of learning, i.e. that of learning how to learn, may form part of a boy's character structure. As it is an unrecognized component in *n*Ach, boys may not be able to reconcile the causes of felt dissonance, and may thus experience frustration and conflict.

Deutero-learning in the sense used here is an abstract or higher order of learning, in which a person improves his ability to deal with constraints in learning situations or contexts.[6] The person comes to act more and more as if contexts of this type are expectable in his universe. Deutero-learning will presumably be a process of character formation, whereby the individual is enabled to live as if in a universe where the methods of learning are expectable. What the individual learns, or fails to learn, from the formal constraints in the contexts of learning can be the clue to his present habits, character, and the manner of participating in the interaction between himself and others. An individual in a relationship with another involving learning will tend, perhaps unconsciously, to form the habit of acting as if he is expecting constraints facilitating learning in further encounters with that other, and perhaps even more widely in further encounters with other individuals and components of interaction settings.

An enculturation matrix for formal learning is a form of self-directing, multi-directional feedback or synectic system. A member of it learns learning patterns, and comes to expect a similar type of behaviour from others in the system. He acts in such a way that they will also experience those contexts within which they too will learn learning behaviour. The synectic quality of the system derives from the inputs into it from one member, which affect the environments of others in a way that will cause a similar generation of inputs from them. Some of these will be positive, and will reinforce the progressive development of learning more and better learning behaviour. Other inputs may be negative, and will inhibit development. However, whatever the type of inputs that ensue from other members of the system, they will act back upon the initial individual to produce further change in him in a like direction.

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[6] The following argument draws heavily on the ideas of Bateson (1958: 285 ff.), but introduces supplementary concepts, particularly that of the synectic system (Gordon, 1961). Basic concepts from cybernetic theory are also involved (Wiener, 1954)

The analogy, that such a system conjures up, is that of a fast-breeder nuclear reactor, which may go some way towards explaining the feeling one has in the school of super-charged, intensity of learning. However, a synectic system requires either internal or external checks unless it is to reach a runaway state. The regular vacations are one form of check, as they disband the system. Examinations are another regulator, as these suspend the learning activity in favour of summative evaluation and assessment of the amount and quality of the learning that has taken place in the system. In the case of the religious Festivals at the school, these also suspend the system for a period, and it is significant that boys refer to some Festivalssuch as *Purim*, *Succos* and *Simchas Torah* as opportunities for 'letting off steam'.

The constraints of such a deutero-learning system in Lubavitcher School are intense, as the boys have to cope with what might be termed information overload, and learning to learn, i.e. learning to cope with it, has the strength of a categorical imperative. The high level of *n*Ach, that we have suggested applies in the case of most if not all the boys, further motivates their endeavours. It is little wonder, therefore, that one of the most apparent phenomena in the class is anxiety over task performance. From ethnographic data we have seen how boys constantly need reassurance that they are doing something correctly, not, it should be stressed, that what they are learning is correct. The tension and insecurity generated by teachers setting work in an unfamiliar way has also been noted in data.

Frustration and conflict can be generated at the deutero-level by a number of enculturation interference mechanisms. As deutero-learning depends on boys receiving the 'signals' of those putting inputs into the synectic system, anything that distracts them, or provides other signals, which are dysfunctional for deutero-learning, constitute a form of 'noise'. Possible sources of 'noise' have been identified in the covert operation of the countervailing curriculum.

A quite fundamental source of interference is the dualism that has been shown to exist at the epistemological level. The knowledge and logic of the Great Tradition constitute a 'closed system', i.e. one in which the knowables are fixed (Postman & Weingartner, 1971: 115 ff.). Answers in such a system are right or wrong, unequivocal, and without any other possibility. Apart from mathematics and other physical sciences in the Academic Tradition, which are also closed systems to a large extent, other disciplines are more or less 'open' systems in which there are degrees of rightness. The term system in this context, according to Postman and Weingartner, 'refers to situations in which we are trying to know something, in which we are trying to assign meanings'.

Answers to problems in teaching-learning situations can be derived from both systems, but it is becoming evident in education that those from closed systems are of less and less relevance, either to the accumulation of knowledge or the construction of reality. As Postman and Weingartner comment (ibid., p. 118): 'Closed problems simply leave out too much to produce a viable answer to any question except one that is so abstract that the answer doesn't make any difference to human beings as they go about the business of trying to cope with an ever-changing environment'. It is thus possible that some of the conflict tension that develops in religious instruction classes may be due to boys seeking to apply open system answers to closed system problems, and meeting the uncompromising stance of the rabbis.

In secular classes on the other hand, closed system answers may be applied to open system problems with similar frustration and potential conflict. In subjects such as history, economics, geography, social studies, and English literature, there is a move away from rote learning of masses of facts to be regurgitated at an examination, towards the development of reasoning ability and the application of knowledge to novel problem situations. Such methods of assessment are used in the C.S.S.E. and V.U.S.E.B. examination papers. It was quite apparent when boys were preparing for these that they were attempting to apply learning strategies, particularly rote memory, more appropriate to the Great Tradition, with consequent frustration and tension. Much of their querulous hostility in class, during the lessons practising with external examination papers, arose from my insistence that there are no 'correct' answers to be learned for them, but only the ability to reason out problems and apply basic principles.

There is thus the distinct possibility that a considerable part of the frustration, conflict and tension in the classroom is generated by dissonance at the deutero-learning level. For this reason it is situational, as the boys do not construct out-of-class activities as 'real' learning. Boys' hostility to staff in the classroom may be due to their inability to promote learning as the boys construct it. The boys are unable to reduce dissonance at the deutero-learning level because it is part of their character structures, and, in the final analysis, is a product of their culture. Thus the dynamics of the classroom are generated by both unknown psychological forces as well as the boys' perceptions of the social exchanges appropriate in teaching-learning situations.

(4) Towards a theory of enculturation dissonance

Reality construction and the process of enculturation comprise one of the cultural imperatives of any socio-cultural group, and thus must be considered universal. The form it takes, however, is culture-specific, and one socio-cultural group's social organization of tradition and formal enculturation has been described and analysed above. The concept of enculturation interference has been used to explain why reality construction in the case of a number of boys at Lubavitcher School produces behavioural indices of anxiety, frustration and conflict. It has been postulated that they may be due to boys' inability to resolve the dissonance at two levels of learning. Of these, the higher-order level of deutero-learning may be the domain in which unrecognized dissonance occurs. Being unrecognized, the dissonance reduction strategies suggested by Festinger and associates may not apply. The boys are thus caught in a synectic system, in which conflict and frustration are generated by multi-directional feedback. The dynamics of the system have a self-regulatory cut-off control so that the anxiety, frustration, and conflict are periodically checked or discharged through forms of catharsis.

If we adopt the viewpoint that learning and deutero-learning are components in the total enculturation process, then it follows that they are culturally constructed, in exactly the same way as the enculturation process itself is culturally constructed. Learning, i.e. constructing reality, will have as its corollary deutero-construction of reality. Both are problematical, but it may be that interference to the latter produces a different degree and kind of uncertainty, in that it is part of the person's character structure and accessible only through personal introspection, either unaided or with the assistance of appropriate psychiatric measures.

Enculturation interference will be likely to occur wherever the child is presented with competing traditions and world views. These may be highly formalized as in a great tradition, or relatively diffuse and informal - the 'little tradition' of which Redfield (1956: 41) and Singer (1960) write. Numerous examples may be cited throughout the world of traditions and world views in opposition and even competition. In such situations lie the seeds of enculturation dissonance. We can think of ethnic minorities, migrant groups, peasant communities, and pre-literate cultures within wider macro-systems as being potentially vulnerable to the phenomenon.

The child-centred view of education adopted throughout this analysis has employed an enculturation matrix model as the heuristic device to focus on salient aspects of the formal education in one school. It is a model that may be universally applicable, however, and may provide the conceptual basis for a theory of enculturation dissonance.

A child constructs a view of the self and reality through reciprocated interaction with components of successive enculturation matrices from the moment of birth. He also *deutero-learns* how to construct reality, and this process is internalized to become part of his character structure. As a result of interactions with components of the matrices the child accumulates a variety of percepts, building towards his tacit theory of the world. Although the process is problematical to some extent, there is basic congruence at both the existential and deutero-levels of reality construction, *if* the enculturation matrices are validated by common traditions and values.

For the purposes of this general theory, the possibility must be raised that 'normal' deutero-learning will be inhibited if any components in an enculturation matrix accessible to the child are pathological in terms of his socio-cultural group's definitions of normality and pathology. For instance, a child's parents may be mentally defective, and present views of reality that are distortions of the 'objective' reality, that might otherwise be presented to the child. Under such circumstances the child may experience enculturation dissonance of pathological origins.

In cases where the child is exposed to two enculturation matrices validated by differing traditions and values, either wholly or in part, enculturation dissonance is likely to occur at both levels of reality construction. Where discrepant percepts are recognized, the child will adopt various dissonance reduction strategies to ameliorate felt stress. His degree of success or failure will depend on the malleability of the percepts, and willingness on the part of agents in the enculturation matrix to let him work *in his own way* to reconcile the recognized discrepancies. Additionally, success will also depend on the congruence of the two types of deutero-learning embodied in the two matrices. Where these are not unduly discrepant, deutero-learned ways of constructing reality can be applied to the novel situation and new percepts. Where there is lack of congruence at the deutero-level, enculturation dissonance of varying degrees must result.

The child is then in the overlapping force-field situation hypothesized by Lewin, with consequent conflict and frustration. He will react with behaviour that is appropriate to his socio-cultural group. In the Jewish school, for instance, we have seen that this takes the form of aggression, anxiety, tension and hyperactivity. In other cultures, apathy, withdrawal, and passivity might be the more culturally-appropriate responses.

Failure to recognize the source of frustration and conflict prevents the child from adopting the appropriate coping behaviour, and may lead to aggression-displacement onto innocent members of the enculturation matrix - the scapegoating syndrome - or destructively against objects and property in the spatial environment of the matrix. Such failure is more likely to result from dissonance at the deutero-level of enculturation, where the cause is buried in the character of the child himself.

(5) Conclusion

This thesis has explored the paradigm case of a school in a Western industralized society in which the values and beliefs of two traditions compete for boys' commitment. Their opportunities for *praxis* have been shown to be severely curtailed. Although little should be generalized beyond the scope of the present study, one is justified in hypothesizing that the grounded theory of enculturation dissonance it has generated may have wider application particularly in multi-cultural societies.

The past decade or more in education in Australia, Great Britain and the United States - to name only three countries - has seen an increasing degree of student unrest amounting almost to alienation and anomie in many schools. Coinciding with these phenomena has been an increase in the cultural diversity of the schools' student populations due to the influx of migrant and ethnic minority pupils from a variety of origins. In consequence, schools have become places where hetero-cultural encounters are commonplace, and where the values and beliefs of great as well as little traditions are in confrontation, if not conflict. Conceptually, this is the situation in which enculturation dissonance is a possible outcome. The value of the theory proposed here may be measured by the extent to which it helps to explain and predict the phenomena we are now witnessing in Western education systems.

APPENDIX 1

FIELDWORK TECHNOLOGY, META-METHOD AND PROBLEMATICS OF RESEARCH

None of us can truly say that his way of work is necessarily the best way or that it either should or will prevail over all others. All advance in knowledge is a dialectic, a conversation. To hear the relative truth of what one is one's self saying one must listen to what the other worker says about what one's self has described otherwise.

Robert Redfield

APPENDIX 1

FIELDWORK TECHNOLOGY, META-METHOD AND PROBLEMATICS OF RESEARCH

The rationale of a research project and the fieldwork techniques it employs, together with the logic underlying its methodology, are often implicit, rather than explicit, in the resultant publication. In many cases, detailed consideration of such matters may be superfluous. For instance, the commonly used quantitative, hypothetico-deductive approach as summarized by Oppenheim (1966: 1-2) may have an inherent methodological logic that makes any explicit statement about the research which employed it unnecessary. However, where a project departs significantly from this model, some outline of the methodology used seems desirable.

Depres has suggested (1968: 6 & f.n.) that 'methodology is fundamentally a matter of communications ... part art, part logic, and part technology'. This Appendix firstly gives a descriptive summary of the chronological order of the research and the kinds of data-gathering 'technology' used. Some of them raise theoretical issues concerning the logic of doing research the way it was carried out, and the fieldwork 'problematics' it involved. Following Strodtbeck (1969: 19-28) I attempt to make explicit these 'considerations of meta-method' that informed this research.

(1) Fieldwork - chronology and organization

Fieldwork within the school was carried out over nearly fourteen months from mid-January 1969 to mid-March 1970, when I had to resign due to ill-health caused by the pressure of work from other commitments. This period comprised an entire academic year, including holidays, and some six weeks of the following academic year. It covered more than the twelve months recommended as a minimal period for ethnographic fieldwork (Valentine, 1968: 183), and enabled me to study the functioning of the school through its complete religious and academic cycles. The extra six weeks or so provided a limited opportunity to check data obtained early in the previous year when I was still finding my feet, and missed some episodes in both cycles.

During the first year I managed to maintain formal teaching contact with school classes for an average total of twenty forty-minute periods per week during Term time. Contact of various kinds, and for different purposes and duration, was possible with all Forms in the secondary school. I supervised Forms 1 and 2 for one period a week each while they got on with work set by another teacher. I taught geography to Forms 3 and 4 as complete groups for a number of periods per week. The latter was the most important, as I also had administrative responsibility for it as a Form master. I met only a proportion of the fifth and six Forms; teaching geography to the former and social studies to the latter. As their work was oriented towards public examinations at the end of the year, opportunities to gather information were correspondingly limited.

Although relieved of playground supervision, I was required to attend other educational functions at the school: infrequent staff meetings, school assemblies and special gatherings, parents' meetings during the evening, and the final Speech Night. Whenever other commitments permitted, I came to the school at off-duty times, which gave opportunities to observe its activities without the restriction of being in class teaching. On one or two days a week, the arrangement of my time table allowed for spare periods, which were used initially to prepare or correct work. However, as the year progressed, with the concomitant need to increase the intensity of participant observation, this kind of schoolwork was done at home during the evenings, and the time gained during the day given to research.

In the second year, formal teaching had to be curtailed to six periods a week after normal school hours, with one large group of students taking Higher School Certificate (Matriculation) social studies. Teaching this group extended into the late afternoon and evening. By that time the rest of the school had gone home, with the exception of other senior boys compelled to stay late for evening classes. Thus opportunities for research were almost non-existent. However, I could still drop into the school at other times by virtue of my continuing association with it as a teacher. On these occasions it was possible to meet pupils from my previous classes on a more informal basis, though data gained were limited.

School vacations and weekends were major gaps in contact, as opportunities to come to school as if in the normal course of teaching duties were difficult to arrange. On one or two occasions I came in to see the activities on a Sunday morning, but the curiosity and excited reaction of the boys appeared to indicate that my presence was so out of the ordinary that the practice was discontinued for fear of making my research work too obvious and thus jeopardizing normal work. Other opportunities for more informal interaction with boys arose during geography excursions, a farewell party at a boy's home for one of my Form going on *aliyah*,[1] and the visit to the neighbouring high school for the C.S.S.E. However, these were seen as normal by the boys, and no comments occured.

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[1] *Aliyah* (Heb.) 'ascent', 'going up'. Used here in the sense of making a visit to Israel.

Outreach contacts with some boys were also compatible with my role of schoolmaster. I was able to visit several homes to give boys special coaching, or to discuss their progress with their parents. In one of these cases, my visits for these purposes shaded off into lengthy discussions about Judaism in general, and the function of the school in promoting the Lubavitcher ideology. The parents of the boys concerned knew of my general research interests, and later in the year were instrumental in enabling me to attend two important ceremonies: a *Bar Mitzvah* and its following communal meal, and a meal in the *succah*, which the family shared with others in a block of flats. Both opportunities to share in these occasions were deeply appreciated. The latter was particularly important as it gave considerable insight into the continuity of ritual life that takes place outside the *shul*, and how important the family is in Judaism.

Research opportunities outside my role as a teacher involved wholly religious activities. Unless prevented by illness or unavoidable commitments, I was able to attend worship at the synagogue for most major religious Festivals throughout the year. My participation in the services was unavoidably limited as the Liturgy is in Hebrew, and announcements to the congregation are in Yiddish. On several occasions I was indebted to the boys I taught, who came over to me to point out the place in the Hebrew-English edition of the prayer book I had obtained. However, this was not always successful, as worship followed the Lubavitcher liturgical order, which differs in many respects from that in the prayer book I used. Through the kind agency of Jewish friends, I was able to take part in the Sabbath midday meal following attendance at Morning Service, and also the *Seder* or home ceremony on *Erev Pesach*. During the weekend prior to this

I was able to watch the elaborate, ritual preparations and the baking of *shmurah matzah* at the school. As well as these special occasions, contact with individual and group worship was a frequent occurrence in the course of my normal duties during the day.

(2) Fieldwork technology

A number of factors militated against using conventional, structured questionnaires during fieldwork. The Principal had asked me not to question the boys very early on in the period, although I had not been doing so until then. There was also considerable sensitivity on the part of the boys themselves about tackling anything that smacked of a sociological questionnaire. A survey conducted two years earlier had made some of them suspicious of such methods of data gathering, so much so, they informed me with some triumph, that many of the answers they gave on that particular occasion had been faked.[2] Even the well-concealed, unobtrusive measures that I had to resort to did not escape comment from boys, parents and the Principal.

In consequence I employed a battery of data-gathering techniques, allied to regular participant observation of the type described by Becker and Geer (1970: 133) as 'that method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time'. As I could not do the latter by the 'classical' method of interviewing informants, *ad hoc* unobtrusive measures (Webb *et al*, 1966), and more systematic projective instruments were employed. I accumulated a mass of

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[2] One of the surveys conducted for the 1966-67 Jewish Community Study in Melbourne.

'physical trace' and 'archive' material, and also noted 'accretions', i.e. examples of behaviour traces which are laid down 'naturally' without the intervention of the observer (ibid., p. 39). At the end of the first year it was possible to take a number of photographs of boys and the campus using a 35 mm. camera. Official photographs of the boys and some major religious events are available from commercial photographers or the weekly Jewish press, and also added to my material. The net result of my 'ethnographic vacuum cleaner' activities (Silverman, 1972: 206) is a synchronic picture of the school, which conveys meaning not only through its factual content, but also by the very media or form in which it is recorded. *Pace* McLuhan (1967), the medium *is* the message, and adds weight to the data by reminding me in a subtle way of the time, occasion and, more importantly, the 'atmosphere' of the events I witnessed.

Direct observation of events is usually contaminated by the presence of the observer himself, but uncontaminated observation was occasionally possible at the school by using the women's balcony as a point from which to watch events in the *shul* below during the day. Micro-ethnographic observations which attempted to reduce observer contamination were far less successful in classrooms, on the occasions when I was only supposed to supervise work set by another teacher, as the boys were alert to anything I did. It was never possible to use the types of sophisticated coding inventories, time sampling, behavioural grids, and other data-gathering devices employed by such workers as Flanders (1960), Adams (1970), Biddle (1967), Smith (1967), Jackson (1968), Smith and Geoffrey (1968). Instead I had to rely on a simplified coding technique to record behaviours, by noting the time a transaction occurred, whether it was self, other, or object directed, who were initiators, and who were targets of the transactions, and who were involved as an interested audience. It was usually possible to mask what I was doing at the teacher's desk by pretending to correct work. However, I was never an uninvolved observer, as my supervisory role necessitated keeping order, answering questions, or otherwise interfering in the stream of behaviour I was hoping to observe. What I recorded was thus no doubt heavily contaminated by the observer effect, but still gives both quantitative and qualitative evidence of boys' behaviour in class. Examples of two junior Forms are given in Appendix 6. To assist the descriptions each boy is identified in a schematic location grid by a randomly allocated letter (Figures A6.1 & A6.2).

In contrast to measures which centre on the observer himself, I used a variety of instruments in which the boys were able to provide data that were minimally contaminated. The instruments served both teaching and research ends. For ethical and pedagogical reasons they were not used in the fifth or sixth Forms, both of which faced external examinations at the end of the year. With one exception, these were disguised measures although ostensibly they formed part of on-going classwork. The exception was the occasion when my research interest in Judaism was stated. This occurred right at the end of my first year when I felt able to reveal it to my own Form. Following the work of Radke described by Yarrow (1958), I asked the boys to write down on a piece of paper their answers to a projective question - what it meant to them to be a Jew, and also to note whether Yiddish was spoken in the home.[3] By that time a small number of boys had left the Form to go home or on vacation before the official school break-up, so my data in this instance are incomplete but very valuable.

My other sources of data were sociograms, and various projective techniques. I used a form of pictorial attitude test modelled on the

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[3] A similar question was used in the Melbourne survey (Medding, 1973: 276).

Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) technique, a sentence completion questionnaire, and a geography-based project *Sociological Studies in Geography* (Appendices 2 & 3). Each was administered at a time during the academic year when the need to do so arose naturally and spontaneously as part of on-going classwork. Although the use of disguised measures raises a number of ethical issues, my instruments thus performed important educational functions in addition to gathering data.

Sociometry was used in Forms 3, 4 and 5 to establish work groups of compatible students to undertake specific tasks such as projects, fieldwork excursions, or educational visits. The resultant sociograms thus reflect one of the important desiderata of this technique, namely, to be relevant to a conceivable task, rather than to a fictitious enterprise (Appendix 7).

The technique of sociometry, originally developed by Moreno (1953, 1960), has been subsequently refined to become a major method of investigating the 'preference structure' in a small group. This is the 'network of likes, dislikes, and indifferences which links its members to one another' (Sprott, 1958: 44). Essentially it consists of asking each individual within the group to name those with whom he would most like to work, in any given activity. After noting replies and preferences, analysis can take the form of a sociomatrix, sociometric scale, or visually as a sociogram. To Madge (1953: 35), the latter has been notably successful as an aid to understanding and bridging the 'conceptual gap between the human group and the human individual'.

However, despite this somewhat optimistic claim, the technique has to be used with caution. Moreno himself pointed out that the criteria of selection used in sociometric testing should be relevant to the situation, or 'real' in the sense that they refer to a specific task of importance and relevance to the group rather than to a hypothetical or imaginary situation.

Interpretation of the data obtained from sociometry must also be carried out with care. Although it is often claimed loosely that it reveals the group's 'social structure', it is doubtful whether statuses can be validly inferred from data which refer more to likes, dislikes, aversions, cliques, rejects and similar aspects. Neither can leaders be identified with certainty, as Dunphy (1969: 79) has shown: questions explicitly asking members of a group to state who led them usually resulted in answers that indicated that very few adolescents recognize leaders. Connell and others (1957: 62), in a study of Sydney adolescents, reported that 'seventy percent of all the adolescents claimed that there was no recognized leader in their group'. To infer even from a task-oriented sociometric questionnaire of the type used at the school that the data obtained indicate the task leaders of the groups is questionable. There could well be overlap or transfer of the qualities boys saw as desirable in the socio-centres of the groups - the most *liked* persons - and those they saw as desirable in the instrumental leader - the most *respected* person. As Dunphy has commented about this important distinction: 'In all groups these two basic role types appear necessary, and are often assumed by different persons' (1969: 37).

Morrison and McIntyre (1969: 114) have pointed out that 'sociometry is by itself a limited technique, which cannot reveal such things as the relative status of different sub-groups, the causes of their formation, or their norms. It is therefore best used together with other techniques'. Madge (1953: 233) has added a similar caution that sociometric devices 'are integral with the active and mature theory of interpersonal relations developed by Moreno'. He warns that 'some investigators are tempted to use them out of character, merely as additional means of assembling empirical material'.

With due attention to these cautions, sociometry provides a valuable adjunct to other methods in school-based research as Evans (1962), Hargreaves (1967), and King (1969) have demonstrated. The results of my own use of this technique discussed in Chapter 12 should be seen in the same light.

Opportunities to use the projective techniques arose when boys in my Form were preparing for their Commonwealth Secondary Scholarship Examination. Past papers available for practice included both verbal, photographic and pictorial (diagrammatic) projective stimuli as the bases of questions in the Written Expression, and Comprehension and Interpretation sections of the four-part examination. As is normal in many schools, I took the boys over numerous 'dry runs' using back papers, as well as the extra tests I constructed, on the assumption that similar methods would be used in the papers for which they were preparing. My choice of tests was vindicated when the 1969 examination papers were finally available, and were seen to include questions constructed in a manner similar to my own.

However, besides giving considerable practice at the skills evaluated, the boys' answers to the various instruments provided valuable data about their attitudes and constructions of social reality. The pictorial attitude test and sentence completion questionnaire were also administered to a control group of boys at the same Grade level in a neighbouring Church of England, Independent boys school. Their Form Master, a personal friend of mine, administered them under conditions which as far as possible replicated those operating when my own Form attempted the same exercises. The resultant data are invaluable as a basis from which to draw tentative conclusions about attitudes revealed in the sample from my own Form.

The use of projective techniques raises a number of problems of interpretation and validity. More criticisms appear to be levelled at them when used in such clinical fields as psychoanalysis, psychotherapy and personality measurement rather than in social research. The arguments, such as those put forward by Eysenck (1957: 218-30), are necessary reminders of the many dangers over-reliance on the projective technique can lead to.

However, despite his trenchant criticisms of its use in clinical areas, the same writer concedes that the Thematic Apperception Test has been shown to have a high degree of success in eliciting subjects' political attitudes (ibid., p. 219-20). It is in the field of measuring attitudes that projective techniques appear to find most, if still qualified, support. The arguments for and against, put by such workers as Campbell (1950), Selltiz *et al* (1959), Oppenheim (1966), among others, are sufficiently well known as not to need repetition here. As Selltiz *et al* note (1959: 314): 'In summary: Much more investigation of the validity of indirect tests is needed ..., before they can make their full contribution to social research'.

However, their attraction for my purposes was at least threefold. Because I had been denied opportunities to carry out overt research into attitudes using scaled questionnaires, the obvious substitute was the projective technique, despite its known imperfections. My use of it was perfectly consistent with the needs of the boys at the time and the instruments I adopted matched those in past examination papers, and fairly accurately predicted the type of questions the boys ultimately answered. Thus my instruments served clear educational ends, which were obvious to the boys, and reduced the likelihood that they would be seen as related to research interests, even if these were suspected. The boys' answers are thus likely to be more genuine, and related to their real attitudes, than might otherwise be the case. My interest was in the attitudes and social constructions of reality the tests revealed, rather than in any clinical psychological conditions that might be present. Interpreting these would, in any case, have been far outside my sphere of competence. Perhaps a final argument in their favour is the instruments' known imperfections. As Webb *et al* note (1966: 3), the essence of the triangulation of measurement process is the scope it offers for using imperfect measures. 'If a proposition can survive the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures, with all their irrelevant error, confidence should be placed in it'.

The long geography project (*Sociological Studies in Geography*) is a major departure from the traditions of social research. As far as I am aware it is an innovation among the techniques labelled by Selltiz *et al* as 'structured disguised instruments'. The rationale behind its development has been discussed elsewhere (Bullivant, 1970), and is included as a preface to Appendix 3.

The project was first and foremost an educational exercise, evaluating several months of work in a geography course during which all the requisite academic skills, knowledge and concepts had been taught, as part and parcel of many others in the syllabus prepared for the Form. It was only secondarily a structured, disguised research instrument; its potential in this respect having become obvious when it was being prepared and some parts evaluated in junior Forms. At the stage of the year for which it was designed, participant observation had begun to yield diminishing returns, particularly in the area of boys' extra-curricular and out-of-school backgrounds, and their constructions of reality.

However, even this instrument did not pass without comment from boys' parents, and the whole question raises the very great difficulty of using virtually any instrument in a field situation where a high degree of inherent suspicion exists among all subjects about being 'investigated'. One can only make one's research measures as eclectic and multi-operational as possible, so that data can be regularly validated by 'data triangulation'. In this way, results that receive repeated confirmation can be taken with a fair degree of confidence. The degree to which gaps exist in data may even be of positive worth as indicative of how closely the subjects manage to guard their lives from outsiders. As Poll has noted in his study of a Chassidic community in Williamsburg (1962), even for a fellow Jew such defensive reactions are maintained. My success as a *goy* can be viewed in this light.

(3) Meta-methodology and fieldwork problematics

(a) Considerations of meta-method

Implicit in the technology described above is a logic of fieldwork that rejects the hypothetico-deductive research paradigm, which has been challenged as the *sine qua non* of social research by such writers as Hanson (1958a, 1958b), Popper (1959, 1963), and Strodtbeck (1964). Instead, it follows Filstead's injunction that sociologists should choose research means that are appropriate to the area of investigation and ends in view (1970: vii). 'It is inexcusable to force the research problem into an *a priori* scheme of technical paraphernalia rather than observing it in the context of the empirical world being investigated'. His observation has particular force for much educational research hitherto, which, in Gordon's view (1970: 12) has been 'dominated by concern with hypothesis testing or verification to the neglect of investigation based on careful and systematic observation'.

An alternative to the hypothetico-deductive paradigm may be a dialectical approach to fieldwork. As Murphy suggests (1972: 89-90):

> The total impact of a dialectic is destructive of neat systems and ordered structures, and compatible with the notion of a social universe that has neither fixity nor solid boundaries. It is the mood and style of dialectics more than set dogma that can inform social anthropologists.

Dialectical research involves the constant resolution of dilemmas and problems in an on-going, fluid, field situation. Operational hypotheses have to be formed to accommodate unexpected contingencies. As operational avenues are sealed off, others open up and give direction and impetus where progress seems moribund. However, despite delaying conceptual closure as long as possible in the tradition of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), one's options become progressively more restricted, until ultimately the domain is exhausted as far as it is ever likely to be, given the inherent limitations of the external observer's stance.

The dialectical approach to fieldwork is virtually obligatory in research, such as that which generated the above study, where data-gathering had to be often unsystematic and untidy. Although loosely termed 'participant observation', it is apparent that what the observer does in the fieldwork situation is '*fundamental to the social act* (in the Meadean sense)' (Bruyn, 1970b: 308). As such, it must of necessity be idiosyncratic and self-interactive, as Blumer makes clear (1971: 17).

> Action is built up in coping with the world instead of merely being released from a pre-existing psychological structure by factors playing on that structure. By making indications to himself and by interpreting what he indicates, the human being has to forge or piece together a line of action. In order to act the individual has to identify what he wants, establish an objective or goal, map out a prospective line of behavior, note and interpret the actions of others, size up his situation, check himself at this or that point, figure out what to do at other points, and frequently spur himself on in the face of dragging dispositions or discouraging settings.

Participant observation under these circumstances is phenomenological rather than traditionally empirical, as Bruyn emphasizes (1970a: 284). The 'rule of openness' prevails so that the observer endeavours to obtain an intuitive grasp of his subject and its surroundings, rather than start with hypotheses that can either circumscribe the field, or interfere with the accuracy of findings. Rather than defining variables and the causal order in which they are expected, the participant observer/phenomenologist 'tend[s] to let the variables define themselves in the context of the research .... The emphasis ... is upon following those procedures which best allow the subjects to speak for themselves in contrast to the traditional empiricist who emphasizes procedures which help explain the subjects from an independent standpoint'.

(b) Problematics

The phenomenological emphasis in research involves a number of problematical issues in methodology, which may not be the case for the traditional empiricist. Many of them were generated by the type of field situation in which I was working. Although the notion has a romantic attraction, I would be naive to imagine that the research was carried out in the classical anthropological tradition as if the school-community were isolated from the wider world. Instead, the exigencies I experienced and my solutions to the problems are comparable to those described by Margaret Mead (1972: 120-132) as typical of research in a 'high culture'.

This is a culture very like one's own: in Mead's case, as an American studying England and the English culture. Behavioural styles, language, customs and beliefs were superficially similar, as were many technological elements. Thus, social interaction to a high degree was possible on the basis of the 'typificatory schemes' or typifications Mead shared with her English friends (Berger & Luckmann, 1971: 45 ff.). The one great gap she notes was the impossibility of transforming them into anthropological informants. To discuss their culture with them 'would have been to take intolerable liberties'.

In the case of my own research, the great gap was an imposed one and not of my own choosing. With one or two exceptions, I had no informants in the traditional sense. Interaction with the boys and other staff, both lay and religious, at the school was possible because we all shared certain knowledge based on sets of typifications appropriate to school life. In essence, the school is a form of social interaction arena in which actors take a number of roles. These are partly traditional - the 'pupil role', the 'teacher role' - and partly localised in one or two schools, e.g. in the case of a religious school, the 'religious teacher role'.

The situation at the school was somewhat more complicated than that discussed by Mead, as actors in the arena are drawn from three cultures. The first is the Western, industrial, technological culture, based on the vague, Judaeo-Christian ethic. The major set of typifications appropriate to it is bound up with the academic curriculum of the school, which is oriented to preparing for and passing highly competitive examinations at the eleventh and twelfth Grades. Boys must achieve these levels if they aspire to gain socio-economic status in the materialistic sphere of their lives. As a teacher, I derive the majority of my typifications from this culture, and my essential role is to pass on to the boys the requisite body of knowledge for success in the examinations.

However, my interaction with the boys is facilitated by another set of typifications, which is drawn from what I know about the general Jewish culture shared by the wider Jewish community in Melbourne. This includes many of the technological aspects of the Western culture, some of its behavioural aspects, and even some of its superficial beliefs and attitudes. It also contains elements derived from common folk or ethnic backgrounds, group consciousness and loyalty. This Jewishness, the 'sum total of the many varied ways in which people called Jews wish to identify as such' (Medding, 1968: 13), provides a focus of self-identification and communal identity. Yet for research purposes it is still sufficient of a 'high culture' to pose a concomitant set of research problems.

But for boys at the school there seems yet another: this is predominantly an *ideational culture* (Sorokin, 1937). Theodorson and Theodorson (1970: 194) see this as a type of culture 'in which the highest values are nonmaterial, transcendental, and supernatural. Ultimate reality is spiritual and nonutilitarian'. Possessing its own unique symbol and language systems, this culture is distinct from those common elements of the 'high culture' I shared with the boys, and greatly added to the complexity of my research act.

My field situation, or social interaction arena, contained representatives from each of the three cultures I have suggested above. As actor, my task was to adopt the appropriate roles for successful negotiations with these significant others on a number of levels: as teacher, as someone with a self-confessed interest in Judaism, and as an undeclared research worker. To guide me in each role I had the appropriate sets of typifications, of varying usefulness which depended on the degree of my knowledge of the cultures from which the significant others came. Taking the research worker role was fraught with numerous complications. As Berger and Luckmann have pointed out (1971: 45 ff.), in face-to-face situations or contacts with others, typificatory schemes are reciprocal. The success of negotiations depends on the others apprehending one in a typified way.

My research dilemma on many occasions rested on the absence of reciprocal typification. I had typifications of others, but they could not form adequate typifications of me. To expand this dilemma I will make the distinction between *expected contacts* with others in the school-community and *unexpected contacts*. The former were those validated by typifications held by others about me in the status-role of a teacher. My activities and contacts with them were thus 'normal' as I could be seen in a 'helping role' (Mead, 1972: 122) justifying what I was doing.

Unexpected contacts refer to research activities that did not match the role expectations held of me *qua* teacher. However, they would have been quite consistent with role expectations of me *qua* research worker. Towards the end of my first year, some staff and boys apparently suspected that I was working in a dual status-role. By then they had some evidence to adjust their role expectations of me to those appropriate to a research worker, and were more personally secure in knowing that I did not constitute a threat to the school. In consequence, my work was facilitated even when I operated purely as a research worker, whereas early in the year overt research would have been hampered.

We thus should think of research activities and contacts with the subjects of research not so much as a dichotomy of the type I have proposed but as a continuum, in which expected contacts and unexpected contacts are the polar positions. One's success in research depends on how closely he can match his research activities and contacts with the subjects' typifications and expectations at that time. Failure to adjust, by dialectical shifts and balances, to others' expectations of one's self can result in varying degrees of lack of co-operation, rapport, and the communication essential for gathering data.

I was in a situation, of the type described by Kai Erikson (1962: 307-314), which is marked by contradictory rules and ambiguity. By being careful to observe one set of demands imposed on me, I ran the risk of violating some other demands or rules. In the eyes of those in one or other of the three cultures I have referred to, I could be seen as devian Yet, as Erikson points out (ibid., p. 308) I had little control over their reactions, as deviance is determined by the audience of the actor rather than the actor himself. Paradoxically, I could also have been in the position of maintaining the group members' notions of deviancy, by being a form of 'boundary patroller'. Transactions between me (the potential if not outright deviant) on one side of the boundary and those agents controlling behaviour on the other side served to define where the boundary was. It may be that I was more tolerated than might have been the case but for my 'boundary patrolling activities'.

It was obvious at the beginning of my research that my attendance at religious ceremonies puzzled the boys: they were unexpected contacts, which did not match their expectations of me as teacher. I answered their questions as to why I attended by saying in effect that I took an interest in comparative religion and was particularly interested in Judaism. When I continued to go to services a senior boy asked me if I intended to convert to Judaism, and came to worship for that purpose. His question was based on the precedent of another non-Jew who regularly attended the *shul*, as part of his formal instruction in the faith as a preliminary to conversion. On one or two occasions it seemed that my attendance at a ceremony was completely out of character in the eyes of some boys and adults. To judge from their almost hostile reactions the occasions were unexpected contacts and deviant. In consequence little data were obtained, and in any case had to be carefully scrutinized for possible bias I might inject into them, by over-reacting to my perceptions of audience reactions to my presence.

I had to try at all times to maintain balance on the continuum. If I merely carried out my role as teacher, little research data of value were obtained. Yet, if I strayed too far towards the unexpected contact end of the continuum I obtained more data, but there was always the possibility that they could be contaminated by my subjective feelings, which were induced by audience reactions to what was seen as deviant behaviour.

As an operational tool for participant observation in my type of field situation, the continuum suggested here suffers from the obvious weakness that what constitutes an expected or unexpected contact rests on the perceptions of the observer. Initially all he has to go on are culturally appropriate 'signals' from members of his audience, i.e. their reactions to the contacts he has made with them. From such data, an *ex post* judgement must be made to decide where similar contacts would lie on the continuum at some future date. Thus, some time must elapse during fieldwork before the observer is able to establish the parameters of the continuum which he will use as the basis for future participant observation.

Faulty interpretation of the signals sent out by the audience results in a continuum that can hamper future work on a number of grounds. Through being unduly sensitive to imagined rebuffs the participant observer can construct a continuum that is unduly restricting. Conversely, by being insensitive to obvious signals from the audience that contact in a certain social area is unwelcome, such an elastic continuum is constructed that future fieldwork is endangered.

A dilemma occurs when no signals of unwelcome contact are given. This point was brought home to me on at least two occasions. The first occurred during one of several discussions about Judaism at the home of one of the boys in my Form. I had asked how I would know if I was putting my foot wrong, either while teaching the boys or during research. I would not be told in so many words, came the reply. I would be allowed to go on putting my foot wrong until it either dawned on me, or the whole enterprise collapsed. *Then* I would know. Meanwhile, nothing would be said or done to warn me of the likely outcome of the course I was taking. I would thus have to be very careful in everything I did.[4]

Lest it be thought that this applies only to non-Jews in contact with the community, I should refer to the second occasion when a similar comment was made, but about a Jewish woman attending a service in the synagogue. I had observed something about her which seemed out of place for such an occasion, and had asked the Principal during one of our discussions on religious observances whether someone would advise the woman. 'No', came the reply. 'You are correct in what you saw, but it is our policy not to tell people like that where they are going wrong. We hope they will learn eventually of their own accord'.

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[4] Poll has commented on comparable difficulties he experienced when trying to establish contact with a Hasidic community in Williamsburg, New York; moreover, Poll is a Jew (Poll, 1962: Appendix).

Participant observation under such circumstances is obviously a different enterprise from the classic accounts of 'old masters' such as Malinowski (1922, 1926, 1935), Radcliffe-Brown (1922), Redfield (1930), Firth (1936), and Evans-Pritchard (1937). One of the key components in their field situations was the informant relationship, with its 'collegiality: [in which] the field work depends on the sophisticated comment of the informant at every step of the way' (Mead, 1972: 121). In my field situation, such a relationship was lacking. Had it been available I might have been able to reduce the risk of misinterpreting my subjects' cultural signals.[5] A sympathetic informant would also have been able to reduce my constant, nagging worry that I might be straying too far into the unexpected contact area of the continuum, and was becoming deviant. By being too diffident about attending some ceremonies, or asking questions even when opportunity offered, I undoubtedly missed much that would have been invaluable.

This seems inevitable when explicit guidance from an informant is lacking, and is obviously exacerbated if one's subjects deliberately conceal their signals of disapproval or even approval. The unpredictability of the field situation generates intra-personal strains for the observer, as he can never be sure about the reliability of anything he experiences. In a low culture, it is possible that informants would give vague generalizations if they want to avoid forbidden areas. However, if they do give information freely, there seems to be no reason why they should not be believed. As they have no positive gain in lying, and probably do not lie, what they do disclose is possibly the truth.

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[5] I am grateful to have had a brief opportunity to discuss the question of cultural signals with Professor A.L. Epstein during the Conference on Sociological Studies of Jews in Australia, Melbourne, August 1969.

In the classic research situation, the observer is urged to use his 'personal equation' (Nadel, 1951: 48) to adjust his subjective reactions to sense impressions, in an effort to minimise bias. In a high culture, this technique seems to have several limitations. The personal equation cannot be a constant form of adjustment factor, as seems to be implied, where the dynamics of the field situation are never the same twice running. The interactions between observer and observed are in a state of constant flux. In addition, the observer is part of the field situation, and affects it by his presence and actions, even by his emotions. All these alter over time. As Young has observed (1965: 13):

> The observer brings to his work the predispositions gained from all the social relationships he has ever had, whether or not they are relevant to the particular problem of the research, and in the light of these predispositions he is bound to notice (and not notice) things different from those seen by other investigators. *At the same time the observer alters the observed merely by observing them. The observer is not able to describe his subjects as they 'are', only the way in which they interact with him* (my italics).

It is questionable whether Young's final comment applies to unobtrusive social research, in which covert observations are made of subjects who are unaware of the research worker's presence or motives. In such circumstances, they can hardly interact with him, yet he can still describe objectively in behavioural terms how they are interacting with each other. To this extent the research worker does not constitute a contaminating variable in the field situation.

However, in face-to-face contacts, the observer must take into account at least two dimensions. One is the interaction dimension, i.e. the point any contact occupies on the expected-unexpected contact continuum, and a temporal dimension. This is the phase of research or the time when the interaction occurs. The longer one stays in contact with the field situation the more dispositions are amassed at any one time to take forward throughout the remaining research as pre-dispositions affecting what follows. The interaction dynamics between observer and observed are vastly different at the end of a lengthy period in the field, from what they were at the beginning, and will obviously in turn affect the parameters of the continuum.

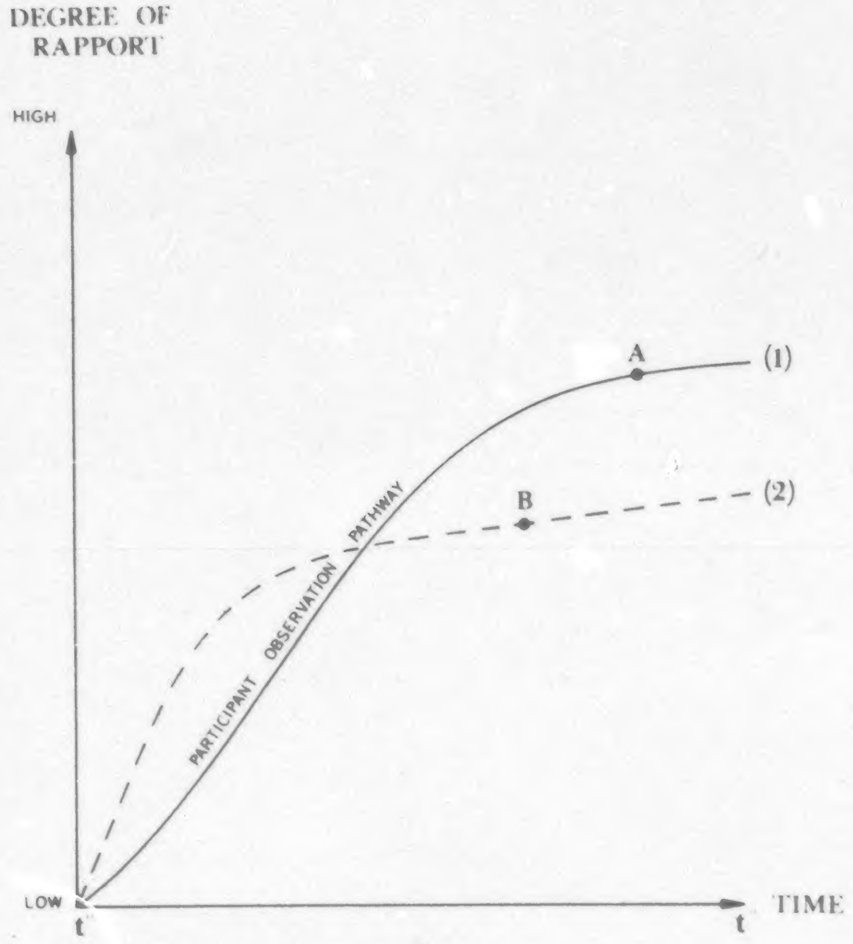
Research workers commonly report on the emotions felt when they leave the field, such have been the rapport and genuine friendship built up during the course of fieldwork. Regret is felt at parting by both the observer and the observed, in contrast to the suspicion and uneasiness that can often characterize the start of research (e.g. Firth, 1972: 10-32). It is thus apparent that the time dimension varies qualitatively as well as quantitatively, i.e. in purely chronological terms.

It is necessary to take into account this third dimension in the total field situation, as it inevitably affects all parties in it. The dimension comprises the varying emotional charges - the analogy with an electric battery is intentional - which are part and parcel of events in the time dimension. If this is conceptualized as a flow of experiences rather than a chronological sequence of events, the electrical analogy assumes added force. Some events are highly charged with emotion - that is they have a high cathectic quality for the subjects of research - while others have a smaller charge, and are less psychologically demanding. A number of events in the Orthodox Jewish stream of experience, in which fasting is mandatory, add to their high cathectic quality by being physiologically demanding. For the research worker caught up in such a flow of experiences, reactions to what is observed have to adjust to a succession of peaks and troughs, whose cathectic quality can only be judged subjectively. A third dimension is thus added to those already discussed.

The field situation, of which the research worker is himself an integral part, can be 'mapped' by using these three dimensions as coordinates. The first is the chronological time dimension (an independent variable). The second is the degree of rapport on the expected-unexpected contact continuum. This is both an independent and dependent variable; the latter relating to time in the field. The third is the cathectic quality or the emotional charge in events occurring over time. The first two dimensions can be shown diagrammatically as in Figure A1.1.

Two hypothetical participant observation 'pathways' are illustrated. Position A suggests a high degree of rapport developed steadily over a lengthy period of time. Its corresponding pathway could be typical of fieldwork under classic conditions in a low culture, with informants and a high degree of collegiality present. Position B suggests a lower degree of rapport developed relatively quickly, but failing to increase through time. Its corresponding pathway could be typical of fieldwork in a high culture lacking collegiality. Some rapport is established quickly, as learning the language does not present a problem, but the degree of depth of insight and participation ultimately achieved is lower than in the low culture pathway.

A TWO-DIMENSIONAL VIEW OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION



(1) A HYPOTHESISED 'LOW CULTURE' PATHWAY – CURVILINEAR AS FULL RAPPORT, i.e. CULTURAL ASSIMILATION, IS NOT REACHED.

(2) A HYPOTHESISED 'HIGH CULTURE' PATHWAY – CURVILINEAR AS EXTRA TIME SPENT IN FIELD DOES NOT GREATLY INCREASE RAPPORT.

Fig. A1.1

However, phases of the time dimension have varying amounts of emotional charge or cathectic quality. Any point on the two-dimensional time/rapport plane thus has its corresponding cathectic quality. The vertical projection of all possible points forms a *cathectic surface*, shown diagrammatically as in Figure A1.2. The surface is undulating to denote the peaks and troughs of emotional charge which constitute its dominant characteristic. These are a function of both time and degree of rapport, and it seems necessary for the observer to take into account all three aspects when observing and interpreting behaviours.

(4) Ethical issues in the research

The cathectic element in the fieldwork highlights the difficulties the observer faces in preserving some objectivity, while at the same time endeavouring to achieve a degree of empathy or *verstehen* in the Weberian sense (Weber, 1962: 15, 34 ff.). To the extent that he identifies and participates with his subjects on the cathectic plane in order to obtain *verstehen*, he risks losing the objectivity that has long been considered the hallmark of successful fieldwork. Yet, to remain emotionally detached, risks losing the empathetic participation necessary to subjectively reconstruct other's reality. Some events gain their cathectic quality by the very sharing of emotions. By standing aloof at such times as, for instance, the shower of congratulations poured upon the senior master on the birth of his son, the observer not only cuts himself off from a flow of shared joy and emotion, but risks prejudicing his future fieldwork. It seems mandatory for the observer to be a social being in terms of the culture he is studying, and describe it 'by following its own internal order and logic' (Valentine, 1968: 173).

A THREE-DIMENSIONAL VIEW OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

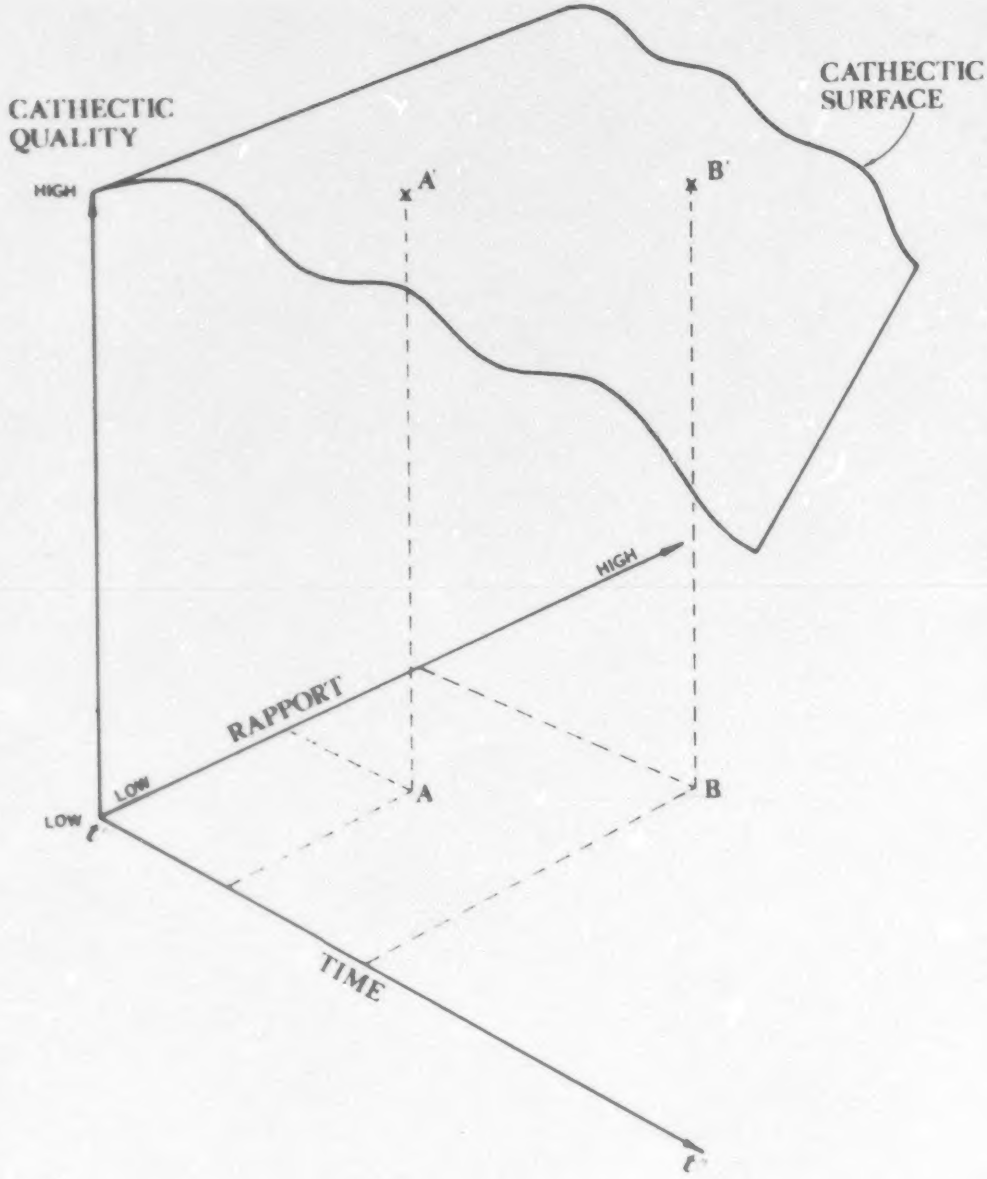

CATHECTIC QUALITY
CATHECTIC SURFACE
HIGH
A'
B'
HIGH
RAPPORT
LOW
A
B
LOW
t
TIME
t

Fig. A1.2

To escape the dilemma of distorting the 'objective' picture one presents, it seems necessary to reconstruct social reality through a frame of reference, which the observer tries to match as closely as possible with that of his subjects, whilst using his own experiences and cultural parameters as a basis for comparison. As Wallace has pointed out (1972: 202): 'To assume that a culture is understandable only in its own terms would, if carried to its logical conclusion, require that ethnography be written only in the native language'.

To reduce distortions to data from over-subjective reporting, fieldwork experiences can be monitored by independent observers of the culture to whom the observer has access. In this respect, fieldwork in a high culture can be turned to positive advantage. Mead was able to alleviate the sense of isolation she experienced in studying a high culture by having opportunities to discuss it analytically and intellectually with friends. These were not members of the high culture but, like her, were professionally interested in trying to understand it (Mead, 1972: 124-45). I had a number of friends with whom I could discuss the boys at the school, but by doing so a number of ethical issues became apparent, and the practice was discontinued. It was obvious that the comments intended to help me were, in fact, coloured by my friends' lack of knowledge about the unique community of which the school is a part. Comments about 'average' Jews were of little assistance. It was also apparent that the behaviour of boys at the school was invariably seen as deviant, and I was in danger of breaching confidences in some cases by discussing certain aspects. The only exceptions were the psychiatrist already referred to, whose clinical impartiality and confidentiality could be relied on, and the officers of the Jewish Welfare Society who are bound by a similar code of ethics.

Ethical issues arise when one is tempted to go and observe comparable institutions. At one stage during fieldwork, when nothing appeared to make sense - a stage not unique to judge from the accounts of others - it was tempting to take up invitations to visit the leaders of other Jewish congregations in the Melbourne area in order to discuss my own research. I also toyed with the idea of visiting their synagogues for certain services. These all had to be rejected for several reasons. During research it had become all too apparent that the Orthodoxy of the Lubavitcher School set it apart from the remaining congregations, and was seen by them in an unfavourable light. The information and comments of more liberal Jews might have been biased against the congregation attached to the school. In discussions, I might also have betrayed confidences. Secondly, my own impressions were confused enough, but had to be sorted out within the parameters of the field situation of which I was a member. Transferring to another situation would compound confusion rather than ease it.

It was also apparent that such an action would be regarded as disloyal by members of my own school-community. This was made quite clear during discussion with one of the administrative staff about obtaining a seat in the *shul* for the approaching High Holydays. I happened to mention that I might attend one of the Liberal synagogues, but was warned most seriously that this would be a mistake. Word that I had attended worship *there* would quickly get back to the school, and would not be liked at all. The implication was clear that I somehow 'belonged' to the school and would be considered disloyal if I went elsewhere, particularly to a less

Orthodox *shul*. In the outcome I attended services in 'my own' *shul*.

Close attachment of this nature to one's subject of research, which one both feels at the personal level, and realizes is implicit from the expectations of others, inevitably exacerbates the observer's ethical problems. He has to come to terms with how much to disclose, what to keep private, even whether to publish at all. Such decisions are as much part and parcel of the phenomenological stance towards fieldwork as the data themselves. It seems logical that all one can arrive at is a personal decision rather than a summation of the arguments of others, in which as many points for as against what one has done can be found (e.g. Shils, 1959; Barnes, 1963; Erikson, 1970; Fichter & Kolb, 1970; Roth, 1970).

My research interest in the school was not concealed from the Principal at our first meeting. Then and on subsequent meetings we had the tacit understanding that I was to carry out research and teach. On several occasions during staff meetings, the Principal made asides to me that I would appreciate the significance of an item we happened to be discussing, although he never made my dual role explicit to other members of staff. A number of them gradually came to suspect that I was carrying out research of some sort, but were not clear about its exact nature. A similar awareness gradually developed among the boys, particularly towards the end of the first year. Since leaving the field I have been asked by several of the boys I taught about the progress of the thesis, in terms that showed they had been far more aware of my research role at the school than I realized at the time. Far from showing resentment, their questions have indicated a very keen interest in the outcome of the research, particularly what I think about the school.

The research techniques used were an inevitable outcome of the request that I should not ask the boys questions about their religious beliefs. This obviously impeded research to a considerable degree, and it was tempting to abandon the whole enterprise as was suggested by several of my advisers. However, too much had been invested in it personally, as I had resigned from a senior position at another school to do the research, and had more or less burnt my bridges behind me. The fear that the unobtrusive measures used might be harmful to the boys is unfounded, as all were turned to educational use in preparing for examinations or forming part of on-going educational work.

The problem of what to publish and what to conceal has been the most difficult to solve. One might firstly make a distinction between knowledge about the school that belongs to the public domain and knowledge which belongs to the private domain. A great deal of the description in Parts One and Two belongs to the former and is accessible to others besides myself - educationists, members of the wider Jewish community, and of the community associated with the school itself. Part of it has even been published in the Jewish newspaper. It is thus 'common knowledge' and cannot be regarded as confidential. However, even in this domain some precautions have been taken. By my own decision, and at the Principal's request, the exact name and location of the school have not been identified. Some parts of the data have been changed to conceal identities, without altering the meaning of what has been published. The religious curriculum of the school has been described as it was given to me by the Director of Religious Studies, who made no request that it be kept confidential.

Knowledge that belongs to the private domain occurs mainly in Parts Three and Four, and lays the obligation of confidentiality on the observer, but only to the extent, it would seem, that by publishing it he risks harming either the reputation of the school itself or any of its members. At no time during research was information given to me on the condition that it be kept confidential. Despite this, I have chosen to suppress a considerable amount of personal information that came my way in the role of teacher rather than research worker. The devices of using code letters for boys, pseudonyms, and composite ideal-type boys, are some guarantee that persons do not identify themselves or each other. The lapse of time between the date of research and the publication of this thesis is a further protection against identification and possible harm.

Shils has suggested (1959: 131):

> Privacy and even secrecy are positive rights, but the obligation to respect them may properly be suspended by the deliberate decision of the participants whose privacy is in question. Moreover, as long as the knowledge was sought solely for increasing our general intellectual understanding of human conduct, the moral obligation is held within bounds.

To some extent it would be legitimate to claim that the agreement to employ me at the school, under conditions in which my research interests were known, was a 'deliberate decision' which partially suspended the school's rights to absolute secrecy and privacy. In return for the privilege of entry to Lubavitcher School, I would hope that any increase of knowledge of human conduct in this thesis has not been gained by any improper use of a fiduciary relationship.

APPENDICES 2.1 - 2.2

PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

APPENDIX 2.1

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION INSTRUMENT

A practice example of creative writing

Introduction:

As you have already seen from practice test papers, use of photographs or pictures is very common. The following picture gives opportunity for creative writing. In this case write in the form of a reminiscence (memory of a past event) from either an imaginary past or real life as you wish. Describe in a paragraph on the back of this sheet what the following picture suggests to you.

A PICTURE OF AN IMAGINARY EVENT

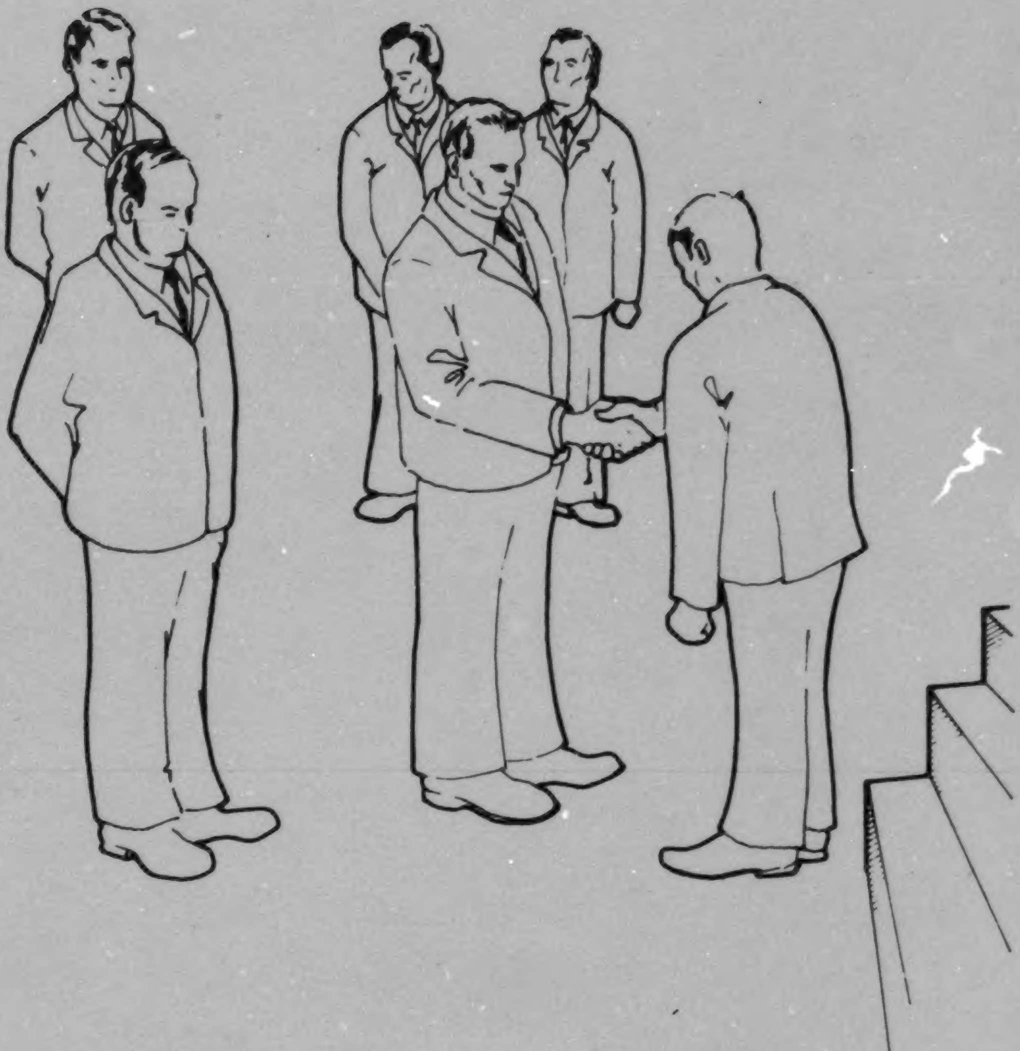


Fig. A2.1

APPENDIX 2.2

SENTENCE COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE - PAUL

A practice example of a style used in some Written Expression tests

Introduction:

It is important to become fluent in reading quickly, making up your mind quickly without fussing or trying to be too complex, writing carefully and legibly, with correct use of punctuation, grammar and spelling. Maintaining continuity of ideas is also vital.

This exercise gives practice in these skills. It is a story about an adolescent boy called Paul, who thinks fairly sensibly about most things. Complete the story using your own ideas as to how you would imagine it would be.

a. Paul came to a new school. He has hardly been there for a few days when he already made friends because ....
....

b. Soon he was well known to his various teachers, both in academic and religious subjects. Coming out of school one day he happened to overhear two of them talking about him. One, the ....
....................said ....
The other, the ....replied......
....

c. When Paul got home that evening he mentioned ....
....
Later, when he was in bed and the light was out, he could not help wondering if his father ....
....

d. The following day he met his closest friend before school began, and said to him: 'I want to tell you something confidential. It is ....
....

APPENDICES 3.1 - 3.2

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES IN GEOGRAPHY

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

APPENDIX 3.1

PREFACE - MICRO-AREA RESEARCH: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO LOCAL SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES*

Introduction

The fruitful method of area research, employed by Steward and his associates (1950) in the immediate post-war period, provided the seminal impetus for a great many studies of large regions. Projects have been carried out in Latin America, Puerto Rico, Africa, South East Asia, among other areas, and have been characterized by an inter-disciplinary, macro-scale approach with the objective of arriving at 'an understanding of socio-cultural wholes as they exist in area' (ibid., p. 7).

There is an obvious geographical component in such an approach, and, in the current trend to include in geography more social and cultural elements, area research could provide a useful methodology and structure for courses, which, we suggest, might be termed *social and environmental studies.*[1] Exciting as this prospect appears to be, there is a more pressing need for a new approach to fieldwork in local areas, which too often concentrates on purely geomorphological or economic aspects, and tends to lose sight of the fact that geography, the study of 'things in association in area', could quite legitimately study social and cultural 'things', provided it does so through the accepted and appropriate methods of the discipline.

Aspects of an area's cultural geography, social relationships, even social values, and other, strictly non-geographical phenomena can be graphed, mapped, shown in quasi-geographical diagrams to give training in fieldwork skills and abilities, without becoming the often sterile, 'let's-now-study-soil-erosion-at-that-farm' type of approach we commonly meet with in schools. There is a rich harvest to be won by teachers equipped with the methods, concepts, generalizations and overall orientation of the kind we envisage in *local* social and environmental studies such as urban poverty and 'centre city' problems, re-development schemes and their social and environmental implications, ethnic or immigrant enclaves and their problems of socio-economic alienation.

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* *Geography Teacher,* 10 (August 1970): 73-82.

[1] The term *social and environmental studies* seems preferable to both social studies and social sciences, as stress is laid on the subtle interplay between social and geographical factors within an areal context.

Hitherto, community or milieu studies have been used to look at small communities, but have encountered some research difficulties. Techniques have usually been drawn from a single discipline such as ethnography or anthropology, while *applied* as opposed to *pure* sociology has developed to study the social policies, goals and institutions of modern, industrial urban communities. (Gouldner & Miller, 1965). But, as Martin (1970: 301) has commented: 'Urban studies remain highly fragmented; the contributions of economics, history, political science and geography have scarcely been integrated into sociological thinking; few general theories have been advanced and none has gained general acceptance'.

To achieve some holistic view it seems more appropriate to employ selected inter-disciplinary perspectives from the relevant social sciences, such as applied sociology, cultural and social geography, urban anthropology, applied economics, within some sort of 'generalist' and co-ordinating overview of the type that Spindler (1963: 15-16) attributes to general anthropological method.

Such an approach would have many of the characteristics of Steward's area research: holistic viewpoint, areal limitations, concentration on social and cultural phenomena, inter-disciplinary focus, but would need to be at a much smaller scale. It seems preferable to avoid too close an identification with 'big brother', and to use instead the term *micro-area research* as one basic strategy for small-scale, local social and environmental studies, which examine small communities.

This article sets out a rationale for the local, urban studies that might be attempted, and draws upon the writer's experimental fourth Form course, 'Sociological Studies in Geography', trialled in a small, Independent school in a suburb of Melbourne. It suggests that micro-area research might provide both a technique for carrying out fieldwork exercises in urban schools, and a useful method of obtaining the 'inner view' of communities such as ethnic or economically disadvantaged minorities where they can be identified 'in area'.

Some general problems

It seems desirable to consider first some of the problems others encountered from which to propose alternative approaches. Possibly the most common problem they met is inherent in the criteria used to identify a 'community'. The very term itself has areal and spatial connotations 'deeply embedded in our thinking, and so much a part of most people's experience at certain stages of life, that urban planners (*and some research workers*) still tend to think of the city as essentially a system of local sub-groups or communities' (Martin, op. cit., p. 303; writer's italics). This appears to have led to pre-occupation with definitions and a compulsion to draw neat boundaries around social aggregates in the hope of netting thereby a community.

There is, however, basic lack of consensus concerning the meaning of the term 'community'. As Hillery (1964: 114) has remarked, after reviewing 94 definitions of the term: 'Beyond the concept that people are involved in community, there is no complete agreement as to the nature of community'. Sklare (1958: 168) has suggested that the term 'Jewish community', in the United States at least, is 'fraught with a number of problems ... The most important such problem is that ... by the most generous standards we can properly speak only of a Jewish *sub*-community'.

There is general agreement among many writers that some idea of *territory* is involved in a community, though often limited in character, and Sjoberg's (1964: 114) modification of a definition by Parsons takes this into account: 'A community is a collectivity of actors sharing a limited territorial area as a basis for carrying out the greatest share of their daily activities'. When this definition is applied to urban areas, the boundary compulsion appears to operate with consequent frustrations and inaccuracies. It may be possible to draw a boundary around a Malayan *kampong*, for instance, and be fairly confident that it will enclose the majority of the community, as usually land holdings are one clue to distinguishing one community from another, but in the situation of big cities where identification with farm land does not operate, and where community land is rare such a technique is of limited use. Using local council boundaries as arbitrary community limits raises the problem familiar to most geographers where politico-administrative lines can cut through otherwise homogeneous areas that straddle them.

Solutions in theory and their application in practice

It is tempting to abandon altogether the notion of trying to bring some geographical referent into the concept of community. However, some urban anthropologists and sociologists have identified and delimited 'collectivities of actors' in precise terms without putting boundaries around them. What they appear to have used instead is a variant of the geographical concept of a *node*: a point around which particular activities take place (Kohn, 1970). Whyte's (1943) *Street Corner Society* had an obvious geographical referent. Lewis (1961: xiv) identified community through the tenement block or *vecindad:* a 'little world of its own, enclosed by high cement walls on the north and south and by rows of shops on the other two sides. These shops ... supply the basic needs of the *vecindad,* so that many of its tenants seldom leave the immediate neighbourhood, and are almost strangers to the rest of Mexico City'. Hellmann (1966) identified a node as the slum yard she studied in Johannesburg.

Each of these nodes is functional in the sense that it provides a *community focal point,* a means of identification and a sense of belonging for the community as a viable unit, and around it develops a *nodal region or tributary area,* linked to it not only by concrete routes of transport and communication, but, we can conceive, by a network of common ideas, values and beliefs related to it. These reinforce the sense of attachment community members derive from such community focal points purely by reason of having them in their midst as symbolic reminders of collective community sentiments - the idea of 'ours' as opposed to 'theirs'.[2]

We can also regard nodes as forming constellations within a community, and as being ranked in a hierarchy according to the values members attach to them. It is an instructive exercise to set children the task of ranking such nodes as church, football club, town hall, elderly citizens' centre, schools, swimming pool, library in their order of felt importance. The resultant hierarchy often reflects shared community values, and begins to establish part of the totality of the community itself.

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[2] Victor Uchendu (1965: 34-38) has given a graphic description of Igbo culture and the importance placed on 'getting up' (achieving community status) by acquiring status symbols such as a school, or community hall within the fence surrounding the community.

Operationally we suggest that the node can be used to obtain a picture of the community's ramifications as seen by persons associated with the node. In the case of the project to be described, the node chosen was a religious school, to which it was known members of a small religious community send their children. In this case, the children are thus a sample from the community, although perhaps, not necessarily a representative one. From its earliest years each child has developed as part of his 'cognitive map' during the socialization process the clear picture of the school, where it is located spatially *and* what it stands for or means in relation to the community.[3] The child's peers will have similar, though not identical, cognitive maps of the school. These will overlap or inter-penetrate to some extent, but all will contain some elements in common: the shared or community elements of the child's world.

The school node shares the cognitive map with other nodes, associations, the immediate neighbourhood, kinfolk and friends. The child learns to recognize where these are, and, at the appropriate age, can show some of these in diagrammatic or map form. At a more advanced level, the idea of a nodal region can be understood and shown on a conventional map, and the links with associations and people illustrated by means of a *social network* diagram. This powerful analytical tool, initially developed by Barnes (1954) and later refined by Bott (1957) in her study of families in London, is discussed in detail and illustrated by Martin (1970: 302-307, 331-339) who used the same approach in her own study of communities in Adelaide. Redfield (1956: 113-131) deals with this concept, which has generated many studies of social relationships, and compares it with other models that have been proposed.

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[3] The idea of 'cognitive map' is discussed by Clausen (1968: 141), but the community element not developed.

By asking a participant in the community to illustrate or symbolize his cognitive map in the manner we have suggested, we advance some way to obtaining an 'inner view' of community as opposed to an 'outer view'.[4] The distinction between the two is the basis of the fundamental field-research problem facing the anthropologist, whose prime concern and *raison d'etre* might be to obtain the 'inner perspective of human reality' (Pouwer, 1968: 21). Levi-Strauss (1963: 281-82) has pointed out that the 'outer' (observer's) model and the 'inner' (community member's) model do not always coincide. By the former he means the culturally produced constructs of the people themselves, and by the latter the model devised by an independent observer. Ward (1965) has developed this in relation to Chinese fishing communities in Kwangtung and Kelly's (1963) theory of *personal constructs* stresses that cultures are viewed differently by those within them as opposed to those outside, and emphasizes the need for an external observer to try to think in terms of the inner view.

Useful though the concept of a symbolized cognitive map could be as an aid to establishing some of the parameters of the community through the eyes of children or others from it, the method is still restricted to a 'flat', one-dimensional view, and lacks the depth perspective or 'inner view'. In our study, the boys produced several maps of this sort. One showed the home and school neighbourhood in the form of a street plan on which were plotted all the places with which the home had regular dealings: religious buildings, boys' youth clubs, library, father's place of work, where this was close by, etc.

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[4] We are also in quite a respectable anthropological 'mainstream' as fieldwork examples abound of pre-literate people drawing or constructing symbolic cognitive maps either as aids to memory (the Polynesian navigation charts), or to illustrate properties of their communities (Bushmen, tribal Aborigines, etc.).

A description of the area in terms of population densities was related to diagrams showing squares drawn to scale representing the home 'campus', school campus, and local council area, with dots to show the population figures at a ratio worked out by the boys themselves using skills learned earlier in the year during case studies of population patterns. The nodal or tributary region of the school was shown by a series of concentric circles drawn around the node. The radii were related to the distances in miles out from the school to which the provision of secular and religious goods and services extended. Central place theory (Broek & Webb, 1968: 377-88) was used as the model for this diagram, again based on previous classwork.

Although there is obviously some qualitative element present in such methods of symbolizing the cognitive map, by the very fact that some aspects are selected for inclusion on maps or in diagrams, and not others, the result is still quantitative rather than qualitative.

The idea that people may view their relationships with the outside world in qualitative rather than quantitative terms is suggested in recent developments in the mainstream of cultural geography. Three major concepts have been evolved to express the relationships between man and environment.

The first is *landscape*, the second *ecosystem*, the third and most recent *environmental perception* - an exciting and powerful analytical tool. This 'assumes that each man has an "image" of the world and that within a given culture these images are largely shared' (English, 1968: 204). A person's decisions and value systems can be used as 'pathways' to discover how the picture or image of the world inside the person's head is related to his relations with the actual world outside it. There still remains the problem, however, of finding out in symbolic form the scale of values which results in the world being viewed as one pattern of ranked relationships instead of another.

Excellent results with a preliminary trial at Form 1 level suggested that a modification of Bott's *social network* model was suitable for this purpose. We used a form of ray diagram, with each boy (ego) at its centre, divided into four quadrants, with each quadrant representing a rank in a scale of values. The first quadrant (top right) was assigned to the boy's conceptualized links with associations, places and individuals to which he attached least importance. The second quadrant was assigned to links thought to be of fair importance, the third to those held to be very important, and the fourth quadrant (top left) assigned to the most important links. It was thus assumed that the length of the ray would reflect the *value* placed on the association, place or person to which it connected. To reinforce the symbolic representation of *ranked* values, the lengths of the rays changed according to the rank of the quadrant, even though each quadrant had rays of the same length: one inch rays in the first quadrant, one and a half inch rays in the second, two inches in the third, and two and a half inches in the fourth quadrant. This is, of course, quite familiar to economic geographers where the length of rays is used to denote the value or quantity of, say, trade from a port. In this case the length of the ray indicates the value placed upon, or degree of attachment to, the associations and persons shown in the diagram.

From both methods of symbolizing cognitive maps, it was possible in this project to obtain quite detailed pictures of the community as seen through the child's environmental perception and scale of values. The degree of congruence between the sets of maps from each boy in the Form studied was quite remarkable. Some values - in terms of associations, organizations, and persons - were clearly rejected as being of little worth, and this occurred consistently. Other values were stressed. Although it was known prior to the study that some of the boys belonged to different congregations in the district, this was confirmed by the composite picture established from twenty sets of symbolized cognitive maps, from which it was possible to see the ramifications of the district's 'sacred geography'. This effective concept has been used by Milton Singer (1960) in his study of religious communities in Madras, India, in which he proceeded in a basically similar way to our's by using religious nodes as his initial starting point.

A final, and highly successful part of the project, investigated the use to which the boys put their time during a representative day, a week, and during a month in which their religious activities were greatest. This added behavioural and temporal dimensions to the relational aspects already considered, and also involved the question of values, as quite clearly from the results the boys chose to allocate their time to certain activities and not others.

The diagrams employed had been practised during sample studies of farms and their routine. The boys drew their personal time-tables to show the amount of time in the day or the week spent on major activities. These were established and specified at the beginning so that all diagrams would be comparable, though this risks some important categories being omitted.

The more ambitious and demanding task entailed the compilation of time spent each day on the same activities for a complete month. Such aspects as sleeping, eating, studying, recreation, etc., were tabulated, and the time spent on each calculated for each day. The data were shown by means of a simplified form of *ergograph* (Monkhouse and Wilkinson, 1952: 204), divided into the various categories of activities. The picture that resulted showed very clearly the cyclical nature of the boys' lives during the month, in which several religious festivals occur. A similar pattern was also apparent in the weekly diagram and, to a lesser extent, in the daily one. Compared with the type of diagrams we might expect from a less religious community, those in this project showed a unique life and time-use style. There was also considerable correlation between the implicit value placed in certain types of activity shown by these diagrams and the value ranking of the places and associations where the same types of activities take place.

Summary

We have discussed the problems of social and environmental studies in modern urban societies as experienced by research workers using traditional approaches through one or other of the social sciences. To overcome these difficulties we proposed that selected, key social science perspectives might be used on an inter-disciplinary basis, and developed an operational model from a number of recent concepts: social network theory from urban anthropology and sociology; the concept of node from central place theory in geography; environmental perceptions from cultural geography; cognitive maps from socialization theory and social psychology. We suggested that the application of the operational model to a fourth Form in a small, religious boys school in Melbourne formed a valuable exercise in urban fieldwork for their geography course, and outlined briefly the types of diagrams and maps which were produced during the course of the project.

The basic assumption behind the experiment was that it is possible to obtain by such means a 'picture' of the boy's community, which would have more of an 'inner' quality, and thus make up for what it lacked in quantitative, statistical rigour, of the kind usually considered desirable in sociological studies.[5] We considered that the method we proposed might go some way in similar circumstances towards solving the research worker's dilemma inherent in these two views of social reality.

A further assumption was made that there was no valid reason to doubt that the boys' unique world view and life, time-use style could be, *and would be* shown by means of what we termed symbolized cognitive maps. The experiment was to all intents and purposes a geographical project, which formed a logical part of an on-going course in which all the skills had been taught earlier in the year. The project was part of the routine of cumulative assessment used in the school, and earned marks towards the year's final total.

---

[5] Content analysis and other methods of processing the data could easily be used to show many of the correlations and value scales in quantitative terms.

The result of the project demonstrated that these assumptions were justified. Sufficient verification and data triangulation were apparent, along the lines discussed by Webb and his associates (1966: 3), to give a high degree of probability that the picture obtained *did* show something of the 'inner' reality.[6] Although the project was basically for geographical purposes, we consider, now, that a similar approach in a school with a high immigrant or ethnic concentration would have comparable and significant results.

There would be attendant benefits. In the present official policy of immigrant *integration* which encourages them to preserve their sub-cultures, as opposed to *assimilation*, which does not, we should encourage children from ethnic communities to take a pride in their sub-cultures. The approach we have suggested gives rich experience in thinking about social relationships, identifying with a sub-culture with feelings of pride, and also the satisfaction of being able, and allowed, to portray for their Australian peers something of the sub-culture's uniqueness and intrinsic worth. Benefits would be gained by the teachers involved in seeing the real background to their immigrant pupils, and might go some way towards remedying the gross deficiencies in present teacher training courses where socio-cultural backgrounds are virtually ignored. To achieve only this might be eminently worthwhile.

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[6] Data triangulation is a safeguard suggested by Webb to overcome possible weaknesses in 'one-shot' measures such as sociological questionnaires.

Note: References for this Preface are included in the Selected Bibliograhy of the thesis.

APPENDIX 3.2

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES IN GEOGRAPHY

AN EXPERIMENTAL PROJECT FOR FORM FOUR

General Introduction

This project is designed to provide a number of situations, combinations of facts, and other socio-geographical information to use in a series of geographical studies.

All members of the class will have the same data in assignment form, or will be asked to look for and use data which all have in common. The skill involved in the assignment is not the information *you* obtain from various sources, but the way in which you use it in a geographical manner.

(a) Method

Questions and directions are given systematically in the following instruction sheets. When you work through the exercises you *must* show all your calculations, notes, comments and rough work. Always write these on the *left hand side* of the project. The only thing that should appear on the *right hand side* of the project is the final, finished results in the form of tables, diagrams, descriptions etc.

Each exercise is designed to be discussed with your partner in order to select the best method of working. Some methods will be suggested in the exercise. If they are, use them and no others. In other exercises, you will be given the task of choosing the method that appears to be the best suited for the exercise.

Draw diagrams on plain (un-lined) paper. Write notes on lined paper. Use foolscap throughout.

This project is included unclipped in a folder. As far as possible make sure that the instructions to each exercise come before the working sheets on which you have done the exercise.

(b) Marking

Marks will be awarded for:

- Accuracy and detail shown in exercises.
- Appropriateness of the method used.
- Care shown in presentation, working, English, figures etc.
- The overall impression of the result, e.g. the arrangement of pages, placing of diagrams and comments where these are related etc.
- Amount and comprehensiveness of information.

(c) Time limit

No absolute time limit is set for this project, but it is anticipated that it should be near completion by the end of October.

(d) Preliminary data

On the outside of the folder in the top right hand corner write *your name* (print neatly). Rule a line underneath it. Leave a line and write the name of your partner. In the middle of the folder write neatly the title as it appears at the head of this sheet.

Introduction to exercises

Much of modern school geography at the Intermediate and Leaving levels is about people - where they live, the patterns numbers of people and their settlements make in maps, the cultural landscape produced by people, their inter-action in the form of trade and commerce, and many other aspects.

This year you have been learning some of the skills and methods which a geographer uses to study people. Because geography and the other social sciences are coming closer together, some of what you have studied and the way you have studied it also uses the skills of the sociologist. This project carries this combination of subjects further. It uses much more sociological data, especially that concerned with your own lives. This has been done deliberately so that nobody in the class can derive an unfair advantage by being able to do a project on a topic which is intrinsically interesting. We all have social relationships. We all have homes, routine of life, relatives, friends. We all come to the same school. These and other data are our raw material.

Topic 1: The home/school environment (Use this heading)

Your first task is to locate your home, the school, transport routes etc., on a map to show their situation. Include those places that are important to you and your family, i.e. use the criterion of relevance - what is important for your daily working routine.

Choose the scale you think is most appropriate to fit within the size of a foolscap sheet. Use the appropriate mapping layout and methods that have been stressed during the year.

Topic 2: Population densities within the school environment

This exercise, which is an important section of the Leaving course, is designed to get you to work in *population* density terms, at various scales:

(a) Micro-scale - calculate the population density of the inhabitants of your home. Take the whole block on which the home stands as the size of your territory.

(b) Medium-scale - calculate the population density of the school campus on a *normal school day*. Take the whole block and buildings on which they stand as the campus.

You will immediately ask what time of day should you choose. This can be solved by taking a series of times of the day, noting the staff present at each, working out density at each time and averaging the results. Ignore casual visitors. The meaningfulness and accuracy of your result will depend on the times of day you choose.

(c) Macro-scale - figures showing the areas and populations are given below for this and neighbouring suburbs. Take the figures and calculate the population densities for the suburbs chosen.

	Area in square miles	Population (1964)
Suburb A	5.28	42,200
Suburb B	8.48	76,200
Suburb C	3.3	56,700

(d) Showing population densities in visual form

Besides working out the figures for the densities of the various areas you have been set, it is also possible to show what the density looks like in visual form by a series of *dot maps*.

Select scales which will enable you to draw all the areas you have considered on one sheet of foolscap paper as a series of squares. Draw the boxes (squares); state the scales used as a *representative fraction*.

N.B. Group the boxes so that micro and medium scales are adjacent in one part of the sheet, and the macro-scale areas are together on another part of the sheet. Use the same scale for the two (micro and medium) areas, and a different scale if needed for the other areas.

Select a ratio that will enable you to show the population totals as a number of dots in the boxes. You will need to use a different ratio for each *group* of boxes. (An example of a ratio of this type is - 'One dot represents 100 people'). Draw the dots in their respective boxes. Label the boxes appropriately.

(e) Population fluctuations

Consider how the total population of the school campus might fluctuate during (a) the week, (b) the year. Select the occasion when you feel that the population would be greatest during the week, and the occasion when it would be greatest during the year. State the times you choose. Obtain data for the total population figures at the two times you select, and work out the population density of the campus. Be careful with your headings and labels so that what you have done and the figures you work out are easy to understand.

Topic 3: The school campus

The school campus (remember this refers to the whole school area and the buildings in it) acts as a *central place* for a wide area by providing a number of *goods and services* which cannot be obtained anywhere else. Consider what these goods and services are. List them under an appropriate heading. (N.B. You should think over the whole year, and not just confine yourself to the present time).

(a) The hinterlands of the school campus

A central place has a *hinterland* i.e. the area it serves. This is difficult to show on a map in this case. The problem can be overcome by thinking of the school campus as the centre of a number of concentric circles at increasing radii. Each circle can be in a different colour and an appropriate key used. A scale can be devised to indicate the distance from the school campus each circle represents. The following diagram is an example for a State school which also runs a small shop selling goods parents bring in to raise money for the school.

THE TYPE OF DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE SCHOOL'S HINTERLAND

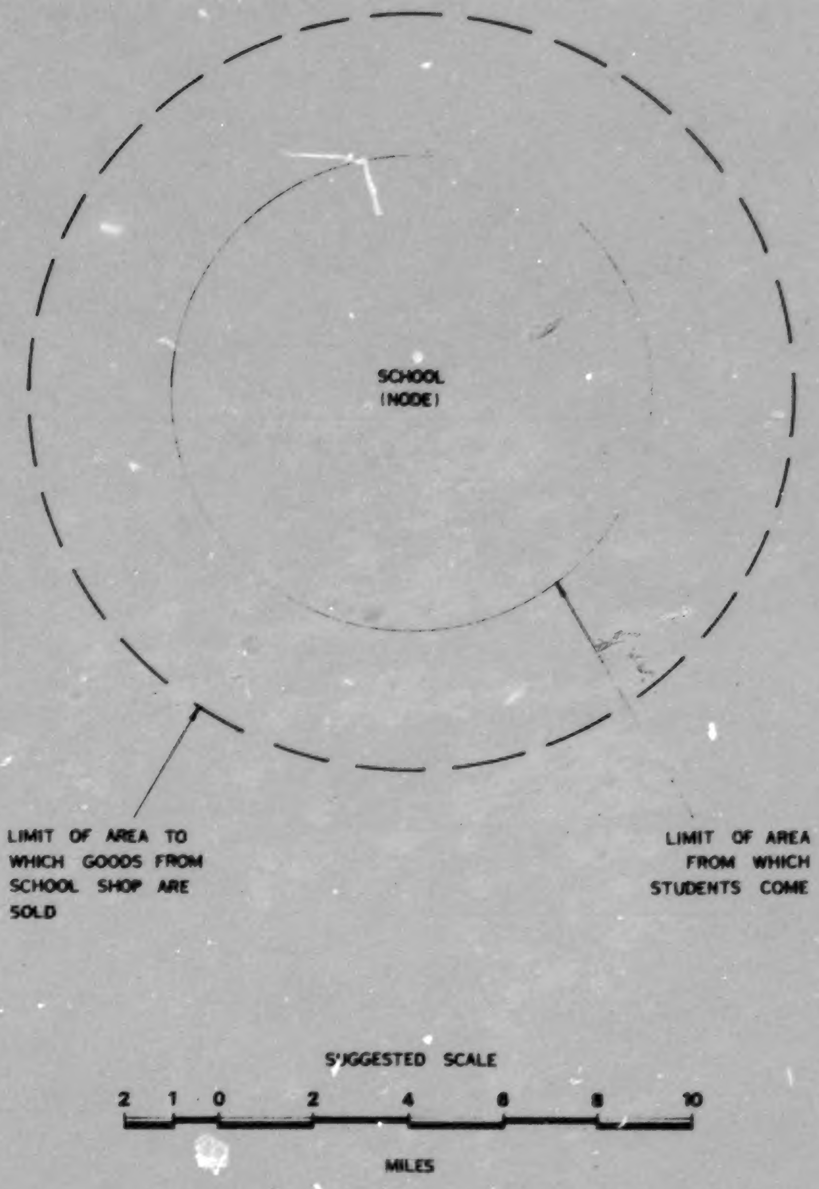

SCHOOL
(NODE)
LIMIT OF AREA TO WHICH GOODS FROM SCHOOL SHOP ARE SOLD
LIMIT OF AREA FROM WHICH STUDENTS COME
SUGGESTED SCALE
2 1 0 2 4 6 8 10
MILES

Fig. A3.1

Use a similar approach to show the various hinterlands of the school campus.

(b) The network of spatial relationships with the campus

As we have seen from earlier work a place cannot usually be understood unless something is also known of those places with which it is connected as a normal part of its activities and work. Think of all the activities of the school campus and the places with which it is linked. Some of these places are clearly more important than others. This enables us to formulate a *hierarchy of contacts*, which is the basis of central place theory.

List the places in order of importance with the most important at the top and the least important at the bottom. If you consider that links are with groups of similar people or similar places, e.g. *homes of members* of staff, make this a category, and include it in the list in this way.

Topic 4: The home campus

One of the places with which the school is linked very obviously is the home of each boy. We have seen in our general work how it is possible to move from consideration of one place to consideration of a place linked with it (e.g. Kwinana to the Whyalla area).

(a) The local suburban area as a central place

You and your family will obtain most of your goods and services from the general area of the three suburbs given in Topic 2c. Most of your daily routine services will come from these as it is inconvenient to travel further out for them. The following list of services are those supplied by a Council. You can think of others - e.g. food and drink, clothes etc. However, these are goods rather than services, and this exercise considers *only services.* Some of these obviously will not be important for you and your family *at the moment.* However, you should think into the future of yourself and your family. Some of the services *could* become very important indeed.

Types of services provided by the local councils and other organizations

Maternity and young children facilities:

- Pre-natal and ante-natal clinics
- Infant Welfare Clinics
- Kindergartens
- Play centre for young children
- Day child-care centres (creches)
- After-school and vacation play centres
- Playgrounds with equipment for children
- Organizations for looking after deprived, orphaned etc. children
- Children's section of the library
- Children's cinema and theatre shows organized by council
- Brownies, Cubs, Clubs for young children

Older children and young people:

- Youth Centres provided by local councils
- Sports Clubs provided by local councils
- Teenage Club and Library provided by councils
- Clubs and youth centres provided by private organizations
- Gymnasiums
- Young people's section in council library
- Young people's education classes, discussion groups, music groups
- Children's cinema programmes
- Girl Guides, Scouts, Rangers, Rover Scouts etc.
- Youth employment and guidance services
- Special schools for handicapped or retarded children

Family and general adult and youth:

- Library fiction section
- Library reference section
- Adult education classes

Tennis courts - public
Bowling greens
Sports ovals and recreation facilities
Parks and gardens
Hotels
Cultural groups - literature and discussion
Cultural groups - politics and current affairs
Cultural groups - art, drama, music
Local orchestra or music group
Local choir
General social clubs
Public swimming pool
Museum and art gallery
Red Cross or St. John's Ambulance Centre
Blood transfusion centre
Women's Organizations - e.g. Guild etc.
Council Home Help Service
Council Meals on Wheels Service
Council Visitors Service
Private Hospitals
Public Hospitals
Counselling services for finding employment
Marriage guidance counselling services
Closed workshops for handicapped or retarded people

Elderly people:
Senior citizens or elderly citizens clubs
Parks and gardens with flowers and seating etc.
Public or Private homes for the aged
Special libraries with books in big print for old people
Special institutions for disabled people
Closed workshops for elderly people
General social welfare agencies

Select *twenty* services which you consider *are* or are *likely to be* useful or important for you and your family. Draw a *simplified map* of your home area (i.e. omit unnecessary side streets). On the map plot by appropriate symbols the location of the services you select. (You could use one type of symbol for all these services and number each, then provide a key in the margin or under the map to indicate the services the numbers refer to).

There are other places and services which are important to you and your family not on the list. Write these following the list of the twenty you select, and with another type of symbol plot on the map their location. You should obviously show the situation of your home.

Draw around the council-provided services a line in one colour to include the services which are farthest out. The line will be irregular but this does not matter. Do the same with another colour for the non-council services. These two areas are your main *service regions*. What relationships, contrasts or patterns can you see between them? Note these after the map under the heading *Comparisons and Contrasts between Service Regions*.

We have considered the future in this exercise, but what of the past? Missen of Melbourne University uses an interesting idea which shows the development of a service region for a Malay family over a number of years.

What differences would you expect in your service region (a) 25 years ago? (b) 15 years ago? (c) 5 years ago? Has your service region changed, grown, included some new services but dropped others during

the period? It is essential to think of service regions in this way, and not as something static and unchanging. Your answer here will be highly speculative as it will be based on evidence from the past which is incomplete. Give the matter some thought, and try to show by some way (even if only a brief statement) how you think the past would have been different. The choice of method is left to you.

(b) The social network:

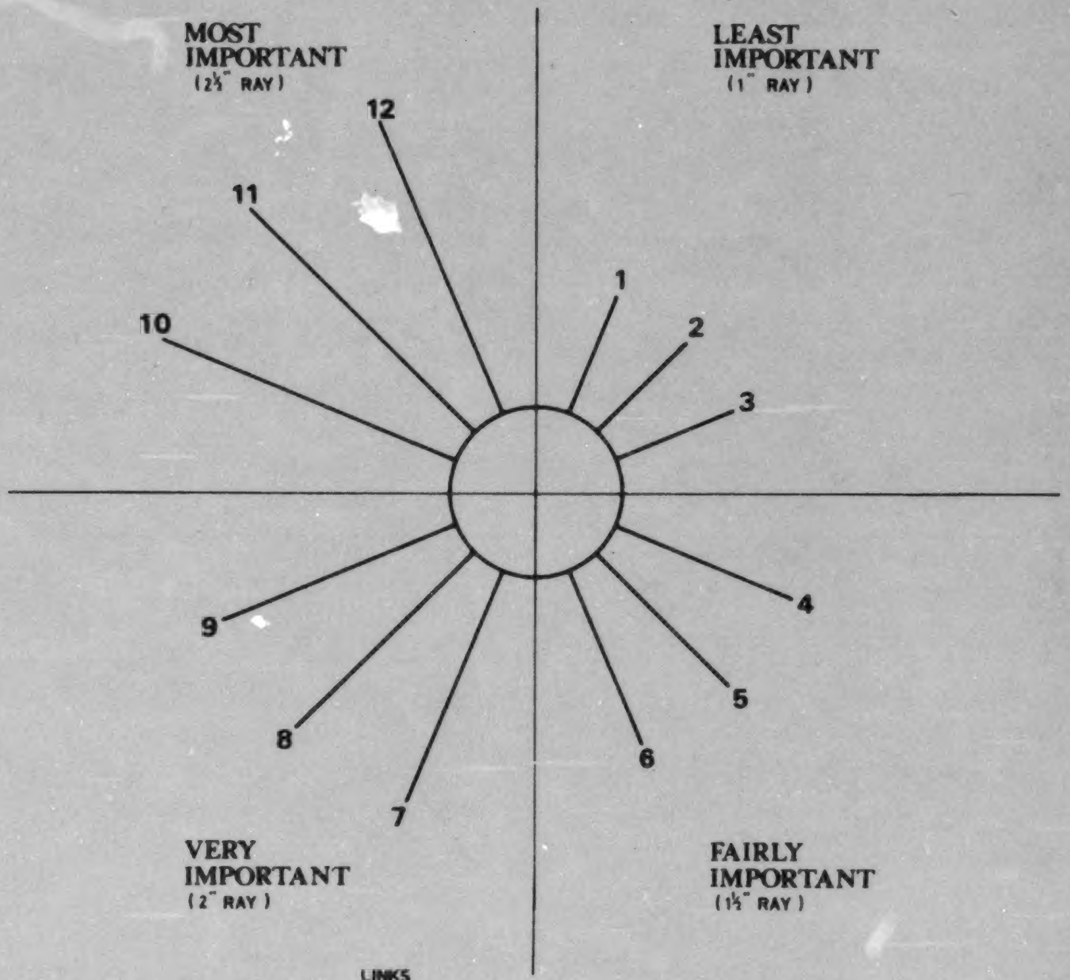
Among the many methods used by sociologists now is the *social network*. We are all at the centre of a network of relationships with *people* and *places*. Some of these are more important than others. Geographical techniques can be used to show these in the form of a *star diagram* in which the length of the rays of the star is proportional to the importance we attach to the link or the place. This exercise lays the foundation for star diagram analysis used in trade relationships where the length of the ray is proportional to the amount or value of the trade.

The following diagram is an imaginary *social network ray diagram* for a boy in West Melbourne. The length of the ray is proportional to the degree of importance. For convenience in drawing the diagram, rays of the same length are kept together in the same quadrant. To save crowding, only the key letter of the link or place is given at the end of the ray, and a key is provided below the diagram. Four lengths of ray are used corresponding to the degree of importance attached to the link. When you have read and understood this, and have studied the diagram try to build your own ray diagram.

(c) The daily routine

Earlier this year we studied the technique used to show the daily routine of a Gippsland dairy farmer, by using a vertical chart divided into the hours allotted to each activity. Using the same method draw a chart that

EXAMPLE OF RAY DIAGRAM


MOST IMPORTANT (2½" RAY)
LEAST IMPORTANT (1" RAY)
VERY IMPORTANT (2" RAY)
FAIRLY IMPORTANT (1½" RAY)
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12

LINKS

1 SCHOOL
etc. ----

4 AUNT'S HOUSE
etc. ----

9 YOUTH (YMCA) CLUB
etc. ----

10 ESSENDON FOOTBALL CLUB
etc. ----

Fig. A3.2

shows your activities in an *average* school day over the twenty four hour period in the same way as the farmer's day was shown.

(d) The weekly routine

Showing the seven days of the week on a similar diagram is more difficult and for this we can *adapt* the yearly chart we used to show the routine of the farmer. The following diagram shows some of the activities of a West Melbourne boy during a week. The diagram has had to be made small to fit on the page. You may choose to put it on a complete side of foolscap paper turned sideways. Each column for the day of the week can be divided into four subdivisions representing three hours each. In the following diagram only three days are shown. You would need to show seven.

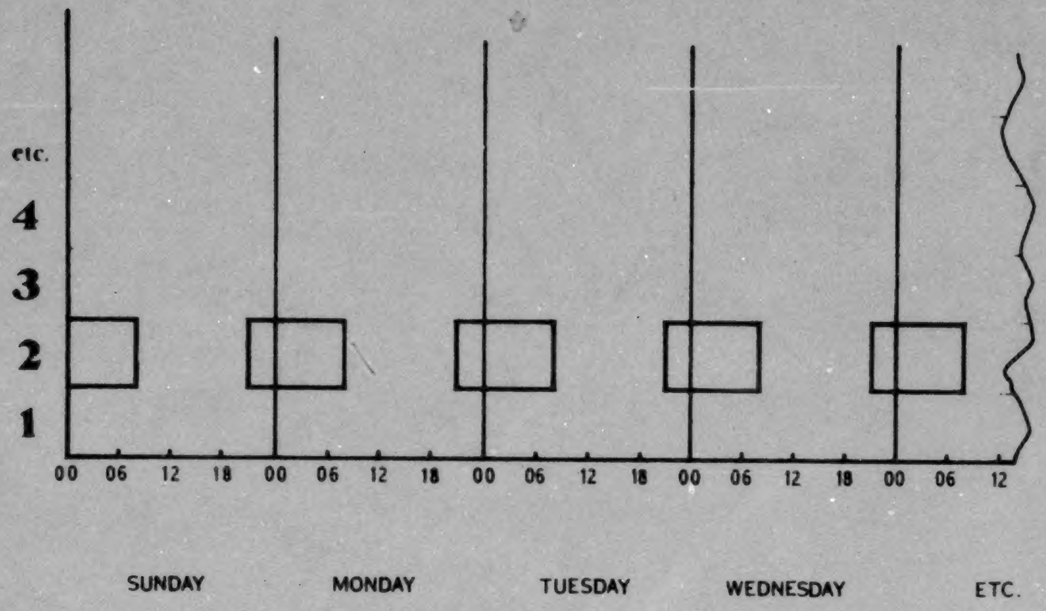
Choose a representative *school* week which is not associated with a major religious Holy Day period. Select the activities you consider are important during the whole week, and first of all work out the amount of time per day spent on each activity. Block or colour in the amount of time for each activity in the diagram.

(e) The monthly routine

As calculating the yearly routine or rhythm of activity is a very long and difficult procedure, this exercise concentrates on looking at the same technique at one very busy time of the year for you - namely the month of *Tishrei*. This is a convenient time division as it contains thirty days, although it spans the non-Jewish calendar period of September-October. In this exercise use the Jewish month.

Again, choose the categories which you consider relevant - for example you might decide on secular school work, school religious studies, recreation, religious observance, sleep, etc. Work out the time in hours

AN EXAMPLE OF A CHART TO SHOW ALLOCATION OF TIME TO MAJOR ACTIVITIES FOR A WEEK



KEY:

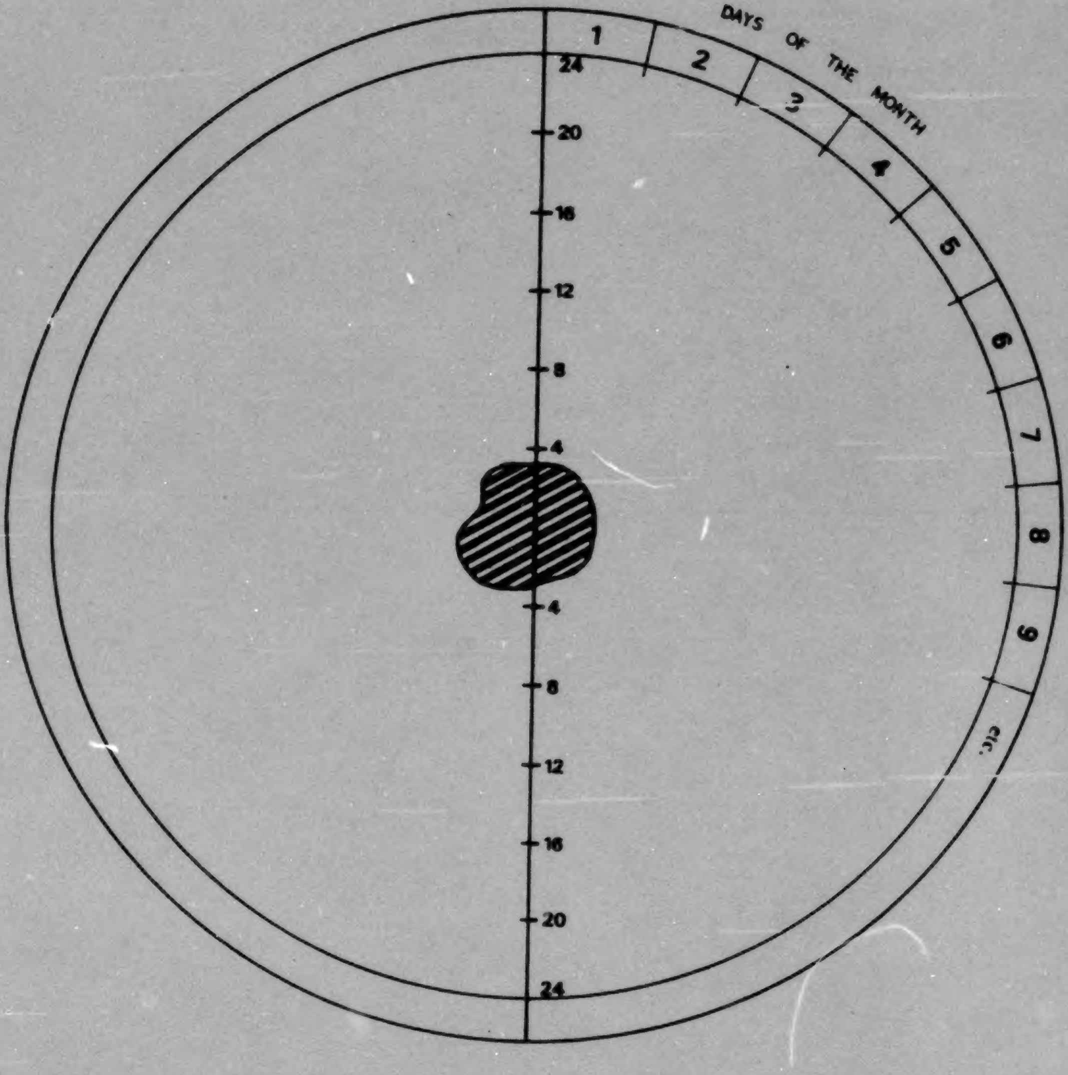
1	RELIGIOUS STUDIES
2	SLEEP
3	SECULAR STUDIES
4	RECREATION

Fig. A3.3

you spent on each activity for each day of this month. Draw the following circular grid in which each ray from the centre represents a day. Calculating from the centre in each case plot the number of hours, involved in each activity on each ray, and join these points up by a smooth curve. Put sleep as the outside category - this does not need to be calculated as it is presumed that what is left over from other activities is spent sleeping. (You may have to include other activities such as eating meals in the above list). The graph should show you the cyclical nature of your life in this period of the year, and give you an insight into the type of picture you would obtain if you did the same thing for the whole year, (Use a larger circle than the illustration below).

The importance of the ergograph is in what it can show for the life cycle of, say, a peasant in South East Asia engaged in the routine activities of farming.

MODEL FOR ERGOGRAPH TO SHOW ALLOCATION OF YOUR TIME DURING *Tishrei*


DAYS OF THE MONTH
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
etc.
24
20
16
12
8
4
4
8
12
16
20
24

KEY

▨ STUDY AT HOME

░ SECULAR SCHOOL WORK

etc. N.B. COLOURS MAY BE USED INSTEAD OF LINE SHADING

Fig. A3.4

APPENDICES 4.1 - 4.11

DETAILS RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF LUBAVITCHER SCHOOL

APPENDIX 4.1

THE FOUNDERS OF GENERAL CHASSIDISM AND THE HEADS OF CHABAD

The Founder of Chassidism
RABBI ISRAEL BAAL SHEM TOV
Elul 18, 5458 - Sivan 6, 5520
(1698 - 1760)

Successor
RABBI DOVBER OF MESERITZ
(Date of birth unknown) - Kislev 19, 5533
(? - 1772)

Founder of Chabad
RABBI SHNEUR ZALMAN OF LIADI
Elul 18, 5505 - Teveth 24, 5573
(1745 - 1812)

Second Generation
RABBI DOVBER
(the son of Rabbi Shneur Zalman)
Kislev 9, 5534 - Kislev 9, 5588
(1773 - 1827)

Third Generation
RABBI MENACHEM MENDEL
(grandson of Rabbi Shneur Zalman; son-in-law of Rabbi Dovber)
Elul 29, 5549 - Nissan 13, 5626
(1789 - 1866)

Fourth Generation
RABBI SHMUEL
(son of Rabbi Menachem Mendel)
Iyar 2, 5594 - Tishrei 13, 5643
(1834 - 1882)

Fifth Generation
RABBI SHOLOM DOVBER
(son of Rabbi Shmuel)
Cheshvan 20, 5621 - Nissan 2, 5680
(1860 - 1920)

Sixth Generation
RABBI JOSEPH ISAAC SCHNEERSOHN
(son of Rabbi Sholom Dovber)
Tammuz 12, 5640 - Shevat 10, 5710
(1880 - 1950)

Seventh Generation
RABBI MENACHEM MENDEL SCHNEERSON
(sixth in direct paternal line from Rabbi Menachem Mendel;
son-in-law of Rabbi Joseph Isaac)
Born Nissan 11, 5662 (1902)

APPENDIX 4.2

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE CONSTITUTION OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE VICTORIAN UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS EXAMINATIONS BOARD

For each subject area examined by the Board there is a standing committee responsible for the syllabus for any examination with which it is concerned.

A standing committee is constituted as follows:

(a) a chairman and deputy-chairman who, except in unusual circumstances, shall be full-time members of the teaching staff of the universities;

(b) a member of the board of secondary inspectors;

(c) an examiner of each subject of the school leaving examination with which the committee is concerned;

(d) an examiner of each subject of the matriculation examination with which the committee is concerned;

(e) (i) one secondary school teacher nominated by the Director of Secondary Education;

  (ii) one secondary school teacher nominated by the Director of Catholic Education;

  (iii) one secondary school teacher nominated by the Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria;

(f) four persons with expert knowledge in the subject, one of the four to be nominated by a subject teachers' association, if such exists;

(g) four members of the teaching staff of the universities.

In subjects with small numbers of candidates appointments need not be made under sub-clauses (e), (f) and (g).

Notes (i) In proposed revisions of the statutes the number of secondary school teachers will be increased.

  (ii) In the following lists of names of standing committees the above categories of appointment have been indicated.

APPENDIX 4.3

SUBJECTS AVAILABLE AT THE MATRICULATION LEVEL (1969)

The subjects of the Matriculation Examination shall be:

1. English Expression
2. English Expression for Asian Students
3. English Literature
4. Latin
5. Greek
6. French
7. German
8. Italian
9. Dutch
10. Hebrew
11. Russian
12. Chinese
13. Indonesian
14. Pure Mathematics
15. Calculus and Applied Mathematics
16. General Mathematics
17. Physics
18. Chemistry
19. Geology
20. Biology
21. Agriculture Science
22. Geography
23. Greek History
24. Roman History
25. Australian History
26. Eighteenth Century History
27. European History
28. Social Studies
29. Economics
30. Accounting
31. Art
32. Biblical Studies
33. Music (Theoretical)
34. Music (History and Literature)
35. Music (Practical)

APPENDIX 4.4

STATUS, SEX, AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF TEACHERS BY GRADE LEVEL

Grade	Teacher	Status	Religious Affiliation
Preparatory	Female	F/T.	Jewish
Grade 1	Female	F/T.	Jewish
Grade 2	Female	F/T.	Jewish
Grade 3	Female	F/T.	Jewish
Grade 4	Female	F/T.	Gentile
Grade 5	Female	F/T.	Gentile
Grade 6	Female	*F/T.	Gentile
Form 1	Male	F/T.	Gentile
Form 2	Female	F/T.	Gentile
Form 3	Male	F/T.	Gentile
Form 4	Male	P/T.	Gentile
Form 5	Male	+F/T.	Gentile
Form 6	Male	++F/T.	Jewish

Notes: F/T - Full time; P/T - Part time

* Mistress-in-charge of primary school.

+ *De facto* deputy principal with time-tabling responsibilities, but no official (*de jure*) status as such.

++ Alternative *de facto* principal with organizational responsibilities for taking assemblies and Jewish meetings in absence of Principal but no official (*de jure*) status.

APPENDIX 4.5

SCHOOL CENSUS DATA 1969

NUMBERS OF STUDENTS BY GRADE AND AGE RANGE

	Grade	Age range	*n*
Primary	Preparatory	Over 4 - Under 7 years	18
	1	Over 5 - Under 8 years	21
	2	Over 6 - Under 9 years	15
	3	Over 7 - Under 10 years	18
	4	Over 8 - Under 11 years	25
	5	Over 9 - Under 12 years	21
	6	Over 10 - Under 13 years	24
Secondary	7 (Form 1)	Over 11 - Under 14 years	22
	8 (Form 2)	Over 12 - Under 15 years	22
	9 (Form 3)	Over 13 - Under 16 years	18
	10 (Form 4)	Over 14 - Under 17 years	21
	11 (Form 5)	Over 15 - Under 18 years	24
	* 12 (Form 6)	Over 16 - Under 18 years	10
		Total	259

Notes: *Figure includes one boy over 20, but under 21, years of age at time of official census.

Figures for Forms 3 and 4 changed in the latter half of the year as boys left the school, and others joined it. Data in Chapter 10 and Appendices refer to these altered figures.

APPENDIX 4.6

OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS IN MIDDLE AND SENIOR SCHOOL BY FORM LEVEL

Form 3 ($n = 19$)

Retailer (shoes)
Milkbar proprietor
Rabbi
Manufacturer (clothing)
Retailing (unspecified)
Lorry driver
Manufacturer (plastic bags)
**Teacher
Manufacturer (children's wear)
Milkbar proprietor
Manufacturer (shoes)
**Manufacturer & seller (furs)
Ritual meat inspector
Delicatessen owner
Tailor and cutter
Merchant (unspecified)
**Market stall holder
Taxi owner
Rabbi

Form 4 ($n = 20$)

Research scientist
Market stall holder
Milkbar proprietor
Belt factory proprietor
**Caretaker
Research Fellow (mathematics)
Delicatessen shopkeeper
General manager, dress manufacturer
Hotel business
Printer
Pet shopkeeper
Butcher
Coat Manufacturer
Clothing factory storeman
Knitting factory manager
Fabric manufacturer and seller
Builder and contractor
Quilt manufacturer
Managing Director Weaving Co.
Sock manufacturer

Form 5 ($n = 22$)

Wax merchant
*Headmaster
Manufacturer (sportswear)
Builder
Wool merchant
Butcher
Saw miller
*Shoe maker
Manufacturer (clothing)
Builder supplier
Manufacturer & seller (furs)
Butcher
Rabbi
Manufacturer (knitwear, clothes)
Wholesaler (unspecified)
Wool merchant
Accountant
Tailor
Merchant (unspecified)
Manufacturer (dresses, clothing)
Delicatessen & milk bar proprietor
Shopowner

Form 6 ($n = 10$)

Builder
Clothing retailer
Orchardist
Rabbi
Clothing manufacturer
Milkbar proprietor
Ritual meat inspector
Painter
Tailor
Knitwear manufacturer

Notes: * Two sons in Form.
** Father deceased - mother's occupation given.

ב"ה

APPENDIX 4.7

SCHOOL CALENDAR
1969 5729-30

(As published by the school)

TUESDAY	4th February	New School Year Commences.
TUESDAY	4th March	Purim. School closes 1 p.m.
TUESDAY	1st April	Break up for Pesach Holidays.
MONDAY	14th April	Return to School.
FRIDAY	9th May	First Term Break-Up.
TUESDAY	20th May	Return. 2nd Term Commences.
FRIDAY	23rd May	1st day Shavuot. School Closed.
THURSDAY	24th July	Tisha B'Av. School Closed.
FRIDAY	22nd August	Second Term Break-Up.
TUESDAY	2nd September	Return. 3rd Term Commences.
FRIDAY	12th September	Erev Rosh Hashannah. School closes 1 p.m.
MONDAY	22nd September	Yom Kippur. School Closed.
FRIDAY	26th September	Erev Succos. School closes 1 p.m.
FRIDAY	12th December	School Closes end of School year.

PLEASE NOTE FROM PESACH TO SUCCOS THE SCHOOL CLOSES AT 3.15 p.m.

ON FRIDAYS.

APPENDIX 4.8

ב"ה

CALENDAR 1970

(As published by the school)

TERM I:

Tuesday	3rd February	School re-opens
Friday	27th March	School closed
Monday	30th March	School closed
Tuesday	31st March	School closed
Friday	17th April	School closes at 3.15 for Pesach
Wednesday	29th April	School re-opens
Friday	8th May	School closed for Holidays

TERM II:

Monday	18th May	School re-opens
Tuesday	9th June	Erev Shavuoth - School closes at 3.15
Wednesday	10th June	School closed - Shavuoth
Thursday	11th June	School closed - Shavuoth
Tuesday	11th August	School closed - Tisha B'Av
Friday	21st August	School closes 3.15 for Holidays

TERM III:

Monday	31st August	School re-opens
Wednesday	30th September	School closes 1 p.m. - Erev Rosh Hashannah
Thursday	1st October	School closed - Rosh Hashannah
Friday	2nd October	School closed - Rosh Hashannah
Friday	9th October	School closes 1 p.m. - Erev Yom Kippur (Beth Rivkah closed all day)
Thursday	15th October	School closed - Succoth
Friday	16th October	School closed - Succoth
Thursday	22nd October	School closed - Shmini Atzeret
Friday	23rd October	School closed - Simchat Torah
Tuesday	15th December	School closes for Holidays.

APPENDIX 4.9

LUBAVITCHER YOUTH ADVERTISEMENT FOR *PESACH* CAMP

ב"ה

LUBAVITCHER YOUTH

CAMP GAN ISRAEL

FEEL LIKE LETTING OFF A LITTLE STEAM?

Come along to the

CAMP REUNION - PESACH OUTING

AND

Travel on the only existing
Steam Train in passenger
service - THE "PUFFING BILLY"

TO

EMERALD,

Where we'll relive for a short
while all the fun of camp!

Leaving 9 a.m. on SUNDAY
6th April -
FROM
THE SCHOOL

Bring along camp photos
Prizes for winning groups

Bring a *Pesachdikker* Lunch

Non-Campers welcome also!!

Cover charge:
under 14 - $1.00
over 14 - $1.30

We will arrive back at the School by 6 p.m.

ב"ה

בּ"ה

APPENDIX 4.10

LUBAVITCHER YOUTH ADVERTISEMENT FOR A *SHAVUOT* EVENING

AGAIN THIS SHAVUOT	AT
TZACH IS ORGANISING	THE SCHOOL
EVENING ACTIVITIES FOR	8.15 p.m.

FORM I - 2

WITH G________

FORM 3 - 4

WITH H________

FORM 5 - 6 and over 9.30

IN THE DINING ROOM

GUEST SPEAKER MR________

M________ T________ "Tax Payment and evasion of Tax according to Halacha.

IF YOU NEED SOMEONE TO ACCOMPANY YOU CONTACT

N________, Q________, K________.

APPENDIX 4.11

A 'PASTORAL' LETTER FROM THE LUBAVITCHER REBBE

FREE TRANSLATION

RABBI MENACHEM M. SCHNEERSON
Lubavitch
770 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn 13, N. Y.

HYacinth 3-9250

By the Grace of G-d
11th of Nissan, 5729
Brooklyn, N.Y.

To my brethren, everywhere
G-d bless you all.

Greeting and Blessing:

The Yom Tov Pesach, "head" of the Three Festivals (Pesach, Shavuos, Succos) and first of all festivals, with its central theme of *Yetzias Mitzraim* (Liberation from Egypt) and the birth of the Jewish nation, are of special significance as an historic event of comprehensive and enduring consequences. Hence all details connected with this event are also comprehensive in their instruction, and, of course, eternal by nature, like all matters of Torah, which is eternal and not limited in time and place.

We will dwell here on one aspect of *Korban Pesach* (Pesach sacrifice) and *Yetzias Mitzraim*.

A prerequisite of Korban Pesach, and thus connected with it, is the Mitzvah of Milah (Circumcision), as it is written: "Every male shall be circumcised and then shall he draw near to make it (the sacrifice) ... and no uncircumcised shall eat of it". Moreover, our Sages declare that the whole event of Yetzias Mitzraim came to pass in the merit of the two Mitzvos: Korban Pesach and Milah.

There is an inner connection between the two Mitzvos:

Bris Milah (Covenant of Circumcision), taking place on the eighth day after birth, constitutes the Covenant between the Jew and G-d right at the beginning of his lifetime, to the effect that his whole life should be lived in accordance with G-d's will.

Korban Pesach is a Mitzvah which was commanded, first of all, to the head of the family ("Each man shall take a lamb according to the paternal household, a lamb for each household .. according to your families"). Furthermore, in connection with the first Korban Pesach it is written: "Draw out (i.e. withdraw - from idolatry) and take unto you" a lamb for the Korban Pesach. We are thus reminded that at this stage of life there is a past, and it is possible that the past was not as it should have been, and requires to be rectified.

Applying the above mentioned concepts in the daily life, we are taught as follows:

Each minute of life is the *beginning* of a new sequence of hours and days, and at the same time also the *continuation* of the previous living. To put it in general terms:

There are times and seasons when a person begins *new* things, and there are times and seasons when a person continues and works on *previous* matters.

Since life's purpose is, as it has been said: "I was created to serve my Creator", and, moreover, since we owe subservience to G-d because He liberated us from Egyptian bondage ("I am G-d, *your* G-d /because I am He/ Who brought you out of Egypt, from the house of bondage") - the above mentioned concepts of Bris Milah and Korban Pesach reflect two general modes of serving G-d: the service of a *Tzaddik*, whose main preoccupation is with *new* things and new achievements; and the service of a *Baal-Teshuvah* (repenter), whose main endeavor is in the area of repairing and rectifying the past. Also in the higher aspect of Teshuvah - return to the Source - there is the obvious implication that there was a time when the individual was closer to the Source but had moved away. Indeed, the soul, before its descent to a life on earth, was purely spiritual, and the purpose of her descent is not merely that she remain spiritual when it inhabits the body, but that she should spiritualize also the body and the animal soul in man.

In more specific terms, in the every-day life of every Jew: Immediately upon rising in the morning, he is like a *new* creature, beginning a *new* life with the declaration: "I thank Thee, O Living and Eternal King," etc. And at the end of the day, before retiring to bed, there is *cheshbon hanefesh* (soul searching) of the *bygone* day, during the reading of the Shema before going to bed, prior to commending his soul into G-d's care: "Into Thy Hand I entrust my spirit."

* * *

This is also the concept of *Zeman Cheiruseinu* (Season of Our Liberation) and Yetzias Mitzraim as a *daily* experience: To be free and unobstructed by limitations and confines (metzerim ugvulim) of one's own nature, as well as of subservience to the spiritually alien environment. This requires *avodah* (service) on two levels: on a level similar to that of a Tzaddik - to continually initiate new good things, *do good*; and on the level of a Baal Teshuvah, *turn away from evil and do good* - to repair what is to be repaired of the past, and to strive and rise ever closer to one's primordial Source in G-dliness.

Even if a person finds himself, G-d forbid, in a situation similar to Galuth Mitzraim of old, when many undesirable alien things encrust the soul, he can quickly free himself by making a resolute decision to belong to G-d. His declaration, "G-d, our G-d (elokeynu, our strength and vitality), G-d is One," will bring the immediate response, "I am G-d your G-d, Who brought you out of Egypt" - and still does, now as then. Thereupon, his enslavement to "Pharaoh" and "Mitzraim" abominations is nullified, and he climbs out of the quagmire, repairs the past, and begins a new life, a truly Jewish life, attaining true freedom through Torah and Mitzvos.

* * *

May G-d grant that all the above should be as in the time of the first Yetzias Mitzraim - with a "raised hand," with a lofty spirit, song and joy.

Thereby bringing closer and hastening the fulfilment of the prophetic promise: "As in the days of your coming out of Egypt, I will show him wonders" - with the true and complete redemption through Moshiach Tzidkeinu.

With blessing for a
Kosher and joyous Pesach

/Signed/ Menachem Schneerson

APPENDICES 5.1 - 5.3

DETAILS RELATING TO THE SCHOOL NEIGHBOURHOOD
AND CULTURE ISLAND

CONTENT ANALYSIS DATA FROM
THE AUSTRALIAN JEWISH NEWS

APPENDIX 5.1

FREQUENCY OF MENTIONS OF JEWISH-OWNED OR MANAGED BUSINESSES WITHIN THE SCHOOL NEIGHBOURHOOD

Category	Number of mentions	
A. Retailing		
1. Delicatessens, milk bars, self service stores, meat and poultry suppliers.	28	(38)
2. Dress and fashion shops, boutiques, men's wear, lingerie etc.	17	(22)
3. Miscellaneous other retail	-	-
B. Personal services and entertainment		
Hairdressers and beauticians	6	(21)
Restaurants, cafes, hotels	13	(34)
C. Manufacturing		
Furniture, household fittings and soft furnishings	8	(18)
Textiles and clothing	6	(13)
Processed foods, confectionery	3	(3)
Paper and printing	2	(2)

Note: Figures in brackets refer to the total advertisements in each category i.e. Jewish and non-Jewish.

APPENDIX 5.2

AN EXAMPLE OF A NEW YEAR GREETING

YOUR CLOTHING AND HOUSEHOLD
GOODS CAN BE OF GREAT HELP TO
THE

LUBAVITCHER SCHOOL OPPORTUNITY SHOP

*

A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR
AND WELL OVER THE FAST

APPENDIX 5.2

AN EXAMPLE OF A NEW YEAR GREETING

B_______________S

JEWISH BOOKSHOPS

*

Wish Friends and Customers
A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR
AND WELL OVER THE FAST

*

. TALEISIM (SILK, WOOL TERYLENE) . TALES BAGS (SILK AND VELVET) . BEAUTIFUL EMBROIDERED YARMULKAS . PRAYER BOOKS FOR ALL SYNAGOGUES IN MANY TRANSLATIONS (SPECIAL ONES FOR LADIES) . SILVER STERLING KIDDUSH CUPS . CANDLE STOCKS AND CANDELABRAS IN STERLING SILVER AND SILVER PLATED . SHOFARS AND SILVER DECORATIONS FOR SEFER TORAHS.

EXCLUSIVE GIFTS FOR ALL JEWISH SIMCHAS.

APPENDIX 5.2

AN EXAMPLE OF A NEW YEAR GREETING

THE I——L SHOP

Has for

ROSH HASHANAH

A LARGE VARIETY OF GREETING CARDS

Israeli Illustrated and Personal
Printed with Name and Address

*

SILK/WOOL TALLEISIM . MAHZERIM (Heb./Eng. - Heb. only - Heb. Yiddish) . KIDDUSH CUPS . CANDLESTICK & CANDELABRAES . MANY BEAUTIFUL SILVER/SILVERPLATE/COPPER & OLIVEWOOD PRODUCTS AND PORCELAIN DISHES . & CERAMICWARE FOR THE YOM TOV & SHABBAT TABLE & FOR THE HOME OR AS GIFTS ...

*

'HUNDREDS OF BOOKS'

For Adults and Children

*

ISRAELI JEWELLERY

*

RECORDS

Hebrew/Yiddish/English

*

ISRAELI GIFTS IN LEATHER/PLASTIC

. GAMES . NOVELTIES . BABYWEAR

Open Daily 9a.m.-5.45p.m.
Sunday Mornings 10.30a.m.-1.00p.m.

APPENDIX 5.2

AN EXAMPLE OF A NEW YEAR GREETING

CONTINENTAL

KOSHER BUTCHERS

Under the Supervision of the Melbourne Beth Din announce that they are preparing different Kosher Smoked Meat, Goose Sausages, Chicken Sausages, Turkey Sausages, Salami & mixed smoked small goods.

WE WISH ALL OUR RELATIVES, FRIENDS AND CUSTOMERS A HAPPY NEW YEAR AND WELL OVER THE FAST

APPENDIX 5.3

AN ADVERTISEMENT FOR THE *TEFILLIN* CAMPAIGN

By the grace of G-d

URGENT CALL

IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE HOLY LAND, THE LUBAVITCHER REBBE, RABBI MENACHEM M. SCHNEERSON, HAS EMPHATICALLY REITERATED HIS CALL CONCERNING THE SPECIFIC NEED -

TO STRENGTHEN AND DISSEMINATE THE OBSERVANCE OF THE MITZVAH OF TEFILLIN AMONG JEWS

The Rebbe emphasised that the fulfillment of this Mitzvah in addition to its essential aspect as a Divine Commandment which must be observed for its own sake, is even more imperative at this time not merely for its protective quality as indicated in the Torah, "and they shall fear you" - the fear that is instilled in the heart of the enemies of Israel as a result of the observance of this mitzvah (as explained by our Sages in Berachot 6a) - but even more so for the Divine strength which the Mitzvah of Tefillin bestows upon defenders of Israel to vanquish the enemy in the course of battle.

The Rebbe declared that it is a halachic decision stated by the Rosh (Halochos K'tanos, "Hilchos Tefillin", 15) in the merit of the observance of the mitzvah of Tefillin which are donned on the arm and the head, there will be fulfilled in the members of the Defence Forces the Divine promise, "And they will smite both the arm and the head" of the enemy (Deut. Chap. 33: 20).

THE LUBAVITCHER REBBE APPEALED:

a) Each and every Jew should scrupulously observe this Mitzvah every weekday. Also, one should have his Tefillin examined periodically as stated in the Code of Jewish Law.

b) By every possible means everyone should spread and foster observance of this precept among his fellow Jews,

ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE MILITARY DEFENCE FORCES, THEIR RELATIVES AND FRIENDS,

by explaining to them the vital importance of this mitzvah.

May it be G-d's will, concluded the Rebbe in his call, that in the very near future the current situation will be a thing of the past, for peace shall reign over the entire world, especially in the Holy Land about which it is stated: "And I will grant peace in the Land" and that every Jew should be able to study Torah and observe the mitzvos in peace and tranquility.

Lubavitch Youth Organisation

770 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn,
N.Y. 11213

APPENDICES 6.1 - 6.3

MICRO-ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTIONS OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN FORMS 1, 2 and 4

APPENDIX 6.1

MICRO-ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA OF BOYS' BEHAVIOUR DURING SUPERVISED GEOGRAPHY LESSON IN FORM 1

Introduction

The lesson starts at 3.20p.m. Definite work has been given to the boys to do. I arrive on time, and receive a ragged unenthusiastic response to my greeting 'good afternoon boys'. Some four or five boys start pestering me to go out and play sport. I insist that they get on with the exercise their usual teacher has set them for revision.

Four boys immediately get up and start wandering around the room, grumbling to themselves and other boys. I write up their work on the blackboard, but am conscious all the time that many of the boys are fooling around behind me. The noise level increases. When I turn round half a dozen are out of their seats, so I order them back to their places. All boys are then reminded about the work they have to do and are told to start work.

A chronological record is kept of their subsequent behaviour. Observer's comments are given on some aspects. Boys are identified by the randomly allocated code letters in the accompanying Figure A6.1.

SCHEMATIC LOCATION GRID — FORM 1

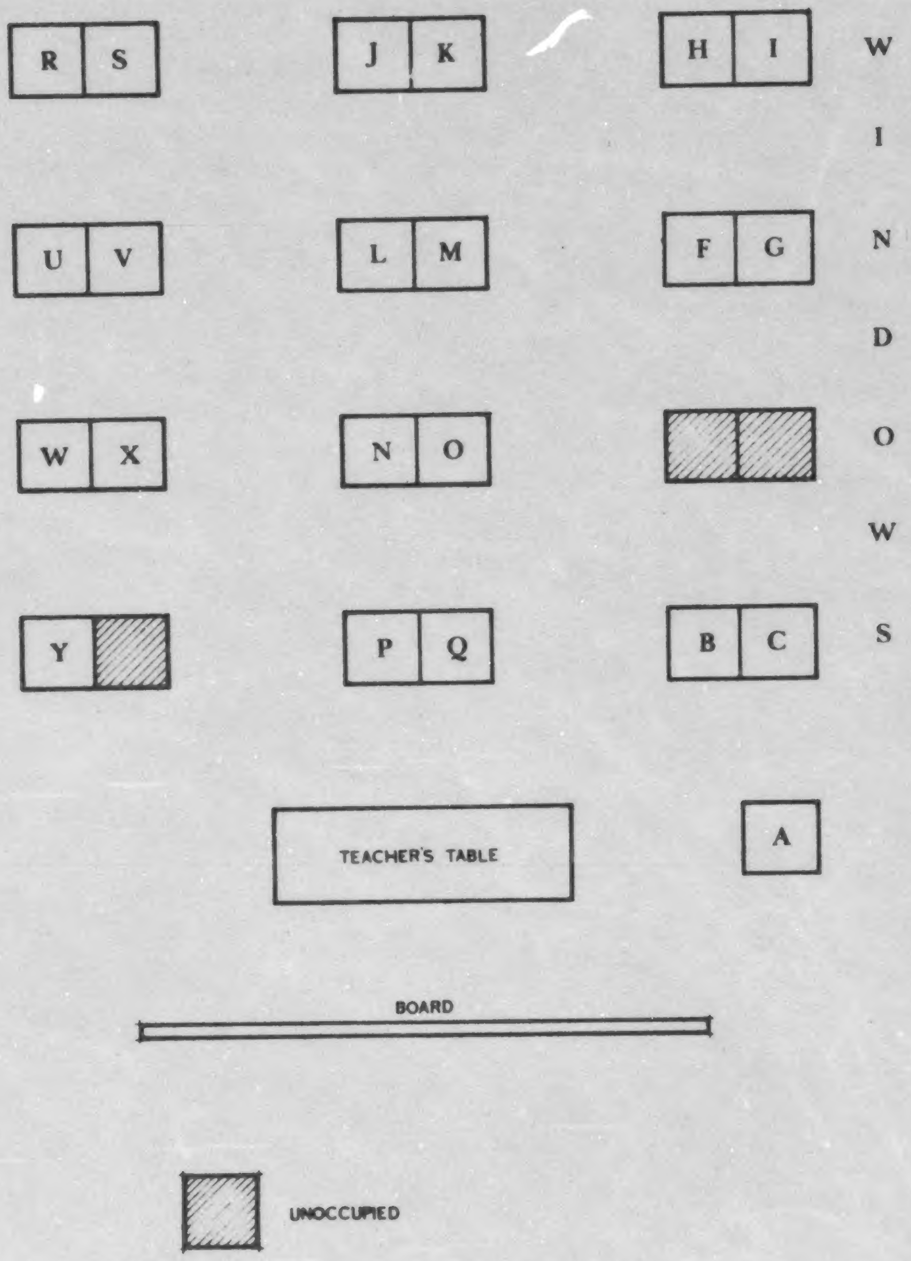

R
S
J
K
H
I
WINDOWS
U
V
L
M
F
G
W
X
N
O
Y
P
Q
B
C
TEACHER'S TABLE
A
BOARD
UNOCCUPIED

Fig. A6.1

Description

3.22-3.24 p.m. Up to eight boys wander around making little attempt to settle down to work.

3.24 All the boys are now settled down more or less quietly. I have to walk around the room twice, directing some half a dozen boys to get down to work, lingering near them for a few seconds to make sure they comply. Despite my surveillance, by the time I get to the teacher's table, and start a formal record of interaction incidents, some boys are still not occupied, though all are in their seats.

3.26 B________ and Y________, both new boys, get up from their seats and wander around looking for books. I send them back, not without argument from B________, who says he has nothing to work from.

3.27 C________ gets up for about the sixth time, and wanders to back row where he leans on a desk talking and joking with K________, H________ and I________. P________ and Q________ are talking and fooling around. F________ turns around in his seat to talk to H________ and I________.

3.30 B________ gets up again, and wanders around to front of class. He plays with the gas heater near the window, and fiddles with the cupboard beside the blackboard. A________ gets up, and wanders aimlessly to the back of the class.

3.31 P________ and Q________ continue to chatter and fool around. They have yet to get down to work. I ask Q________ what he is doing. He says he is excused from work as he has been sick, and is still dizzy. This does not prevent him distracting P________ with chatter. I tell him to get on with his work.

3.32 G________ gets up, and throws something out of the window. V________, W________, X________ start talking, possibly about work so I ignore them. C________ gets up again, and starts to drift towards the back. I tell him to sit down. He complies reluctantly. I________ and K________ are chatting idly and looking around at others. A________ calls back to L________ and M________ about work, then gets up and goes to talk with them. I let it go on as long as it appears to be about work. When conversation appears to get off work, to judge from the silliness and joking, I order A________ back to his seat.

3.34 R________ and S________ start a fight over a roneoed worksheet, snatching at it, and cuffing each other around the head and shoulders. M________ turns to K________, and starts talking. O________ comes out to the front ostensibly to get a book he has forgotten. He glances quickly at what I am doing - nothing escapes his notice - and circles back to his desk where he stands until told to sit down and 'get on with it'.

3.36 L________ turns around, and starts grabbing at the books of J________ and K________. X________ shoves his desk lid up, and starts grubbing around inside.

3.37 J________ comes out and asks to 'be excused'. I let him go to the toilets. C________ gets to his feet again (possibly in reaction to J________ going to the toilet). There is a general murmur of voices from most boys. Some of this appears to be 'work noise', the remainder is obviously gossip, as the chatter has continued non-stop since the beginning of the lesson.

3.38 V________ jumps up suddenly, and snatches a book from S________: apparently he has been jostled, and remonstrates loudly. There is a sudden outburst of irritation from J_______ and K_______. A_______ calls out across the room to Y_______ and Z_______. U_______ gets up, and comes around the back of my seat to C_______ to get a book. B_______ gets up, and wanders to the front, talking to himself and to nobody in particular.

3.39 A skirmish erupts between F_______ and G_______. Four boys are now out of their seats and wandering around in a generally aimless but disruptive manner. The noise level rises. I tell the class in general to get on with their work. F_______, who has not been working consistently, comes out for permission to go and see another, unspecified boy. I refuse permission, and tell him to sit down. C_______ gets up again, and moves restlessly to the window. He repeatedly glances out of the window.

3.40 M_______ gets up, and starts wandering down the aisle towards the front. P_______ and Q_______ are still chatting. P_______ has done almost no work despite my reminders to get on with what he has been set. Q_______ interrupts him continually. He seems to have nothing to do but gossip. B_______ gets up, and starts wandering around near the cupboard and gas fire. I ignore him. C_______ gets up again. I have told him to sit down several times, and at last he does so reluctantly.

3.42 Q_______ is now so noisy and disruptive that I send him outside to cool off. After a great deal of cheeky argument he goes. Periodically he pokes his head through the door to ask if he can come in again. X_______, who began to root around in his desk at 3.36 finishes whatever he is doing, closes the desk lid, and sits back idly looking through a pamphlet he has discovered. It is unconnected with geography. J_______ returns from the toilet noisily, and sits down.

3.44 A skirmish starts between J________ and K________ over possession of pencils and books. Class by now is generally noisy and chattery. The noise level rises until I have to step in and remind them to get on with work. U________ turns around. He leans his elbows on the front of R________'s desk, and starts chatting idly. L________ half gets up from his seat, and turns to J________ and K________ to get some books.

3.45 H________ has been blowing his noise like a trumpet on and off in an exaggerated manner for about ten minutes. He finally swaggers to the front, and throws a tissue ostentatiously into the wastepaper basket. The girls school siren goes, and there is a general stir near the window. Those closest look out. G________ and C________ wave, apparently to girls passing by below. I reflect that, of all the classes I take, this one seems to have most to do with girls, possibly due to the proximity of their playground to the windows of the classroom. When I arrive by car, and park opposite the playground at lunchtime, there is usually a group of first Form boys and girls playing basketball, not as a team together, but with two seemingly independent games going on. They are not exclusive, however. Each frequently pirates the other's ball, there is general skirmishing and chaffing at each other. Mild flirting takes place with scuffling and name-calling: 'So-and-so loves so-and-so', with embarrassed pushing and blushing giggles, 'don't be so silly'. I continue to reflect that this may have something to do with the pre-*Barmitzvah* status of the boys. The proximity of classroom and playground is another factor: I had frequently seen boys leaning out of windows calling to girls. It is quite usual for boys near the windows to jump up, call or wave out of the window to girls below. Once, when I went to a window during a supervised lesson, I had inadvertently disturbed a group of girls who were standing in their playground looking saucily up at the windows, and waving to boys, much to their (the girls') embarrassment and apparent confusion. It is difficult not to smile in sympathy - blood will out, despite all the restrictions which have been placed on boys using the girls' playground.

3.46 For the first time, except for W________ and X________, the whole class is working quietly and productively, with that unmistakable air of purposeful industry with its slight 'buzz' of activity, involved in work which absorbs attention, and is the ideal of many teachers. I can relax at last. But W________ and X________ still seem to be wasting time, each idly leafing through a pamphlet which bears little relation to the work I have set. They also examine a note passed to them through the Form's 'pipeline'. My relaxation is short-lived. Q________ gets up, darts to the front and whispers something to A________.

3.47 M________ gets up, and goes across the aisle to F________, then comes back and sits down again. F________ then gets up, and goes to talk to K________ and M________ across the aisle. A skirmish erupts between U________ and V________ over the possession of a pamphlet. K________ gets to his feet, and looks around the class. G________ and E________ start giggling and chatting. M________ turns around in his seat, and hits out at J________ who remonstrates vociferously.

3.49 A silly, giggly scuffle starts between U________ and V________. O________ turns around, and starts meddling with M________'s work. P________, who has been wasting time and working spasmodically, asks to be excused, and is allowed to go to the toilet. He goes out quickly.

3.50 C________ is up on his feet again, moving around the room, restless and irritable. H________, who has been keeping up his nose-blowing on and off for some time, gets up and looks out of the window. Giggling and name-calling have been heard intermittently from the playground for the past few minutes. The class as a whole is now beginning to get restless. Boys work fitfully. X________ seems to have started to pack up. I tell him to get on with his work.

3.51 Y________, who has done nothing all the lesson - he is a new boy from Brooklyn, New York - turns around to talk to W________, who similarly has been doing nothing all the period.

3.52 H________ comes out. He wanders from W________ to P________ to B________, and finally gravitates to my desk. I tell him to sit down. K________ gets up, and looks out of the window. A little child starts crying outside in the playground. A________ mimics the sound, setting the whole class laughing. I tell him to be quiet and get on with his work. C________ gets up again restlessly (does he want to go to the toilet but is unwilling to ask?).

3.53 H________ and I________ are now on their feet, idly chatting and looking around. L________ gets up, and stands talking to J________.

3.54 B________gets up again, and wanders, as if compelled, to the front cupboard. He finds a story book, and sits on the gas fire, reading.

3.55 X________ begins to pack his case. J________ comes ostentatiously to the front to show me all the work he has been doing. A persistent troublemaker and irritatingly cheeky boy on past occasions, he has been quieter and more productive this lesson than formerly, when he has been the focus of attention and a recognized disruptive element in the class.

3.56 C________ turns around to G________ and starts talking, all the while keeping one eye on me. K________ gets up, and looks at me truculently. H________ and I________ are also on their feet, talking. H________ starts an obviously forced, hacking cough. The class stirs, and many laugh with approval. H________ again comes forward, and makes an ostentatious display of dropping something in the wastepaper basket. Out of the corner of my eye I see him signal to J________, then, on his return, stoop to pick up a slip of paper that was flipped out to the front by Y________ some time previously. K________ gets out of his seat, and comes over to talk to A________.

3.58 O________ comes out to me for help on a work problem. I had ignored his and other requests for help, which have been shouted out in my general direction, unless boys had complied with my request to put up their hands. Y________ gets up, and walks behind me to the window, where he stands staring out until told to sit down. P________, who it will be remembered, went to the toilet at 3.49 p.m. comes in noisily, and goes immediately to J________ whose work is consequently interrupted. Inured to such behaviour by now, I forbear to question him about the time he has taken to get back. Past experience has taught me that doing so results in a tangle of involved explanations and excuses. Instead, I tell him to sit down, and remind J________ to get on with what he is doing. He immediately bounces to his feet expostulating vehemently that he had not stopped work all the period. It is now approaching 4 p.m. and dismissal time. The whole class is getting very noisy and fidgety.

3.59 C________ gets up - for the umpteenth time, I reflect wearily - and moves around the room restlessly. L________ gets up, and goes over to talk to V________. H________ is on his feet, looking out of the window, and signalling to someone below. L________ strolls to the back row. Boys start packing up generally and noisily without being told to do so. When the siren sounds for the end of school, boys cram belongings into their cases. When instructed, they make a dash for their coats. A mad scramble takes place in which at least seven incidents of shoving, scuffling and hitting take place. Despite the fact that their own time is now involved, all are not able to be ready for dismissal until 4.05 - five minutes after the formal end of the period.

4.05 The class is dismissed and all stream out noisily, about a third touch the *mezuzah*. I remain behind until the caretaker comes in, then leave myself - a typical lesson completed.

APPENDIX 6.2

MICRO-ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA OF BOYS' BEHAVIOUR DURING SUPERVISED GEOGRAPHY LESSON IN FORM 2

Introduction

An afternoon lesson in mid-October. The weather is bleak, windy, cold and showery. An assignment has been set by their normal teacher. The lesson starts promptly at 2p.m. I give instructions for all to get down to work on the assignment, and repeat these about four times. C________ immediately puts up his hand, 'I've finished; what can I do now?' I tell him to get on with work in another subject. 'Science?' he asks. 'Yes, do science', I reply, 'but get down to work'.

I take up my seat at the table, and keep a record of the boys' subsequent behaviour. Observer's comments are given on some aspects. Boys are identified by the randomly allocated code letters in the accompanying Figure A6.2.

SCHEMATIC LOCATION GRID — FORM 2

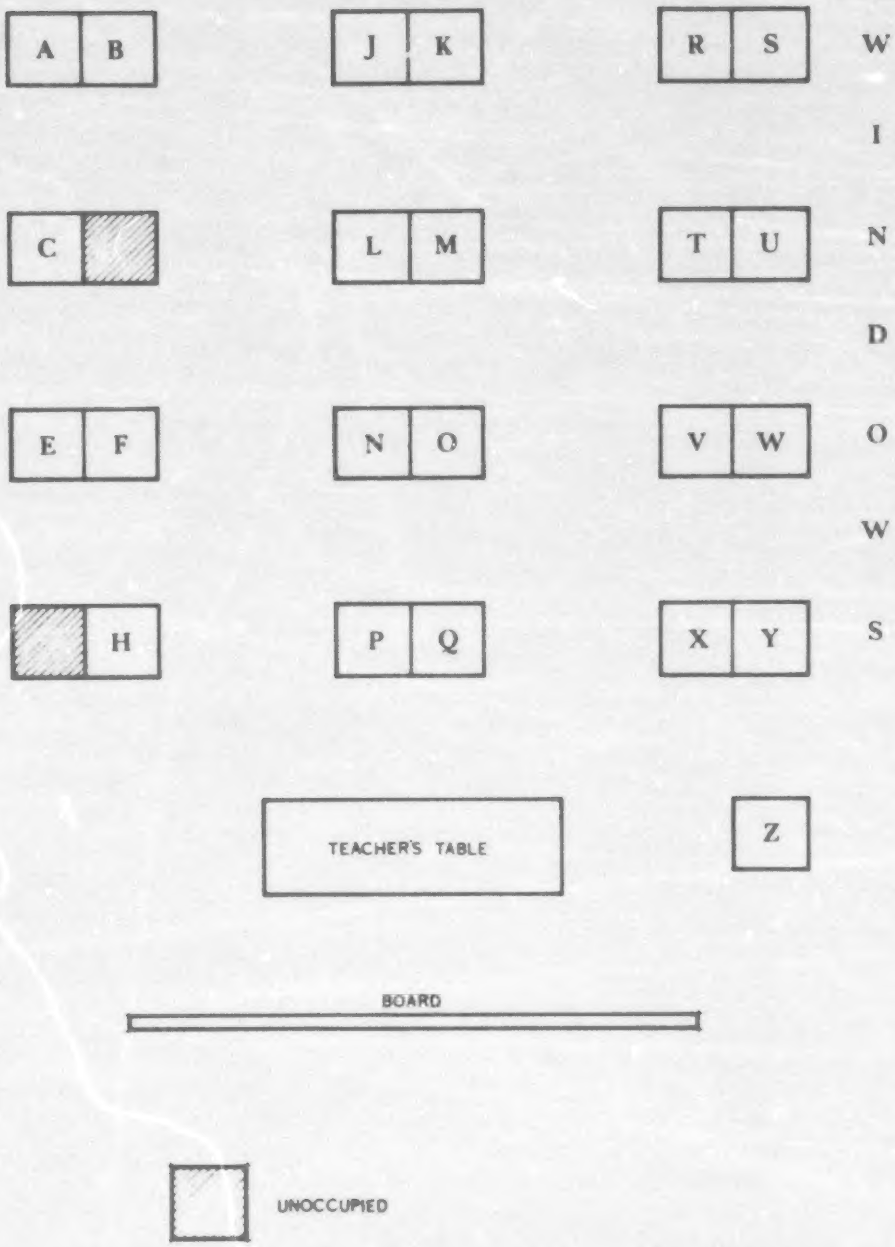

A
B
J
K
R
S
WINDOWS
C
L
M
T
U
E
F
N
O
V
W
H
P
Q
X
Y
TEACHER'S TABLE
Z
BOARD
UNOCCUPIED

Fig. A6.2

Description

2.03 p.m. The boys are still noisy, and I remind them to get down to work. Some go on chatting, complaining, rooting around in their desks for books. Several boys are late getting to the lesson. N________ takes out two New Year greeting cards. K________ turns around to look at these. I remind him that they both have work to do, and should get on with it. The class begins to settle down.

2.05 There is an interruption as H________ and P________ arrive. They tell me that they have been held up by rain. I tell them to get down to work as quickly as possible. H________ sits down, but immediately starts to talk to N________ across the aisle, who is still looking at the New Year cards.

2.07 A________ hits C________ immediately in front of him, who has been playing with a magnet since the lesson started. O________ gets up with a Hebrew book, and comes forward to the front to show it to K________. I tell him sharply to get back to his desk, but he loiters around, then wanders behind me to the cupboard, and starts fiddling with Hebrew books and tidying them up. After a while he goes back to his seat reluctantly. I remind all the class to get on with their work. However, the noise level again starts to rise; some boys leave their seats to chat to neighbours. O________ calls across the classroom to someone at the back. H________ continues to talk to N________ across the aisle.

2.09 C________ starts to play with his magnet again. Behind him, A________ is obviously eating something.

2.10 O________ gets out of his seat. He hits K________ in front of him, them wanders to the back of the class, where he scuffles with those in the back seat of the centre row. J________ pushes and scuffles with L________ in front of him. Z________ in the right hand row turns around in his desk, and swings a blow at Y________, the boy immediately behind him. V________ and W________ get up and wander aimlessly around the class. Again, noise starts increasing. In this period there are some five boys wandering around the classroom, fooling and talking to friends. F________ comes in late. He tells me that he has been kept at home to help his mother, who is ill.

2.10 I give an order to the boys to stop their noise, sit down and get on with the work they had been given. All boys go back to their seats. I warn H________ not to call out. Then I resume my scribbling, with head down and attention apparently on my work. Immediately O________ calls out to me for attention - something to do with the work he is doing. F________ starts talking to C________ behind him. H________ calls out to N________. L________ in the centre row gets up and walks out to the front, then moves to the back of the classroom, where A________ and B________ are sitting. C________ turns around and hits A________ behind him.

2.18 I again remind boys to get on with their work, and tell those standing up to sit down. A________, who has been eating surreptiously all the lesson, becomes more open about it with the result that I spot him putting something in his mouth. I reprimand him, and tell him to put the sweets in the wastepaper basket. He comes out with a great show, and with exaggerated movements puts an obviously empty packet in the basket, then returns to his seat. All the boys except Z________ have stopped work to watch this pantomime. They grin behind their hands, and slide looks to one another to see if I had noticed and will react.

I do nothing, but remind them to get on with work.

2.20 H________ calls out to P________. V________ and W________ bound up, and start scuffling over something. H________ gets up and grabs a book from P________. Both boys fight over possession of the book. O________ talks to K________ in front of him. V________ in the right hand row starts talking to M________ diagonally behind him across the aisle. A scuffle develops between C________ and L________ from across the aisle, who has moved into the vacant seat beside him. When he sees me look up, L________ quickly gets back to his own seat. V________ is now talking to a group of boys near him. O________ calls out to H________. N________ also chips in, calling to H________. Fooling and joking start up between V________ in the right hand row and M________ in the centre row. B________ in the left hand row scuffles with J________ across the aisle. M________, in front of J________, turns around and hits out hard at J________ who apparently knocked him during the scuffle. General scuffling breaks out between a number of boys. The noise level is now very high.

2.23 I warn J________ to sit down, and tell the remainder of the class to quieten down and get on with their work. Then I resume my own work, while the class gets back to their's.

2.25 A scuffle breaks out between V________ and W________ in the right hand row. H________ is making a noise and I check him. N________ interrupts P________ to ask him something. C________ starts being silly again, calling across the aisle to L________. The boy in the left hand row - A________ has started eating again. This time I get up and go to find out what he is up to. He has a pile of chips on the seat beside him as I suspected. I reprimand him angrily, then tell him to get the waste paper basket and to sweep the chips into it. Some of the boys start cat-calling, saying that I am forcing A________ to waste food, which is against the Jewish laws. Finally the chips are in the basket, and some order is restored. I get back to my seat, and start working again.

2.26 O________ hits the boy in front of him with a book. H________ calls across to P________. L________ gets up, and goes rooting around in the lockers at the back of the room, then wanders slyly over to B________ in the back corner, and hits him, managing to jostle J_______ on the way. R________ and S________ in the back right hand row get up to fiddle with the blinds, ostensibly to reduce the glare from the sun, which has broken through after a shower. They start pulling down the blinds all the way along the windows. This causes the usual expostulations from those in other seats near the windows, who object to having the blinds down.

2.28 After watching this for some moments, I tell R________ and S________ to get the blinds settled and then sit down. C________ gets out of his seat to go to the waste paper basket for no apparent reason. I tell him to sit down. N________ and P________ in the front start a discussion which is obviously about work so I ignore it. O________ turns around and interrupts M________. R________ and S________ are now crouched down in their seats joking together. C________ throws something over to J________. Fooling around and joking are now going on between C________ and D________ in the left hand row. L________ drops his pen, and searches around for it under the desk in a vigorous way. He manages to jostle N_______ in the process, who turns around and expostulates violently. A scuffle erupts at the back between C_______ who turns around to hit A_______. J_______ gets up, leans across to B_______ and hits out at him, manages to hit D_______, the boy in front of him, and then dashes back to his seat. When I look up at him, he claims that they had hit him first. N_______ and K_______ turn around for an animated discussion with the two boys behind them. T_______ and U_______ start fooling around, then turn around to talk and joke with the two boys behind them in the back seats.

2.31 I get up and go to separate V_______ and W_______, who have been quietly wrestling for some seconds. I do so with obvious anger and use a degree of force. The class becomes watchful and quiet at this display of annoyance. Most have their heads down working, or pretending to work. Yet noise starts to build up once again. V_______ and W_______, who I had just separated, start fooling again. I begin to loose my temper and warn them that there will be serious trouble if they continue. Despite this, L_______ and M_______ in the centre row continue to fool around with their heads down almost under the desk.

2.32 J_______ yells out for help with his work, without putting up his hand. I remind him of the normal rules, and answer his question. O_______ turns around to ask M_______ a question, and succeeds in disturbing his work. He then calls out to me for the meaning of a word. U_______ at the back turns to talk to R_______ and S_______. C_______ turns around to talk to A_______. J_______ gets up with the intention of going to talk to C_______, but I tell him sharply to sit down. T________ from the right hand row gets up, and strolls casually to the left hand row around the back of the class. He hit A________, lingers in the vicinity, and exchanges jokes.

2.33 H________ calls across the aisle to K________. O________ and P________, K________ talk together. C________ grabs the jumper of the boy behind him, they scuffle.

2.34 I again warn all boys to get on with their work. As soon as I have finished speaking, O________ gets up, and comes out to the front, leans on K________'s desk, and starts talking to him about books. I tell him to sit down, but he continues his conversation. I repeat my order, and ultimately succeed in getting him to sit down. Meanwhile C________ and A________ start another scuffle, then a conversation. They attract the attention of E________, who until now has been relatively quiet. He and F________ start to talk about something that is obviously not connected with work. H________ ducks under his desk and fiddles with his case; he keeps up this activity for some time. There is a general murmur of talking in the class, and the noise is rising.

2.35 I tell all the boys to get on with their work quietly. The four boys in the back right hand corner of the row near the window start an animated discussion, apparently about work, so I let it continue. H________ calls out to P________. O________ drops a plastic ruler with which he has been fiddling for some time, spinning it round and round his fingers. He picks it up off the floor, and continues spinning it abstractedly. V________ leans across to M________ and pulls several times at the button on top of his *yarmelkeh*. M________ has been working relatively well until this moment. C________ starts fooling around with the boy behind him, talking and laughing. O________ turns around, and starts to interfere with M________'s work. K________ starts to discuss work with P________.

2.37 O________ again drops the plastic ruler picks it up, slumps in his seat, spinning the ruler abstractedly around his finger. C________ leans across the aisle, and grabs a pencil from L________, and pretends to break it across his knee. L________ moves across to get it, and several other boys join in amidst general uproar. C________, A________ and L________ scuffle for possession of the pencil. I tell them to be quiet and hand the pencil back to the right owner. O________ then gets up, and goes to the far back right hand corner where he interrupts the work of S________. O________ stands in the aisle idly spinning his ruler. I tell him to get back to his seat and sit down. Eventually he complies. C________, A________ and B________ start up a gossip with J________ and L________ across the aisle. O________ asks to be allowed to hang up his overcoat, which he has kept on since coming into class. I tell him that he has been such a nuisance that he can keep it on, as he will only disturb the others further. He stands up, takes off his coat with a show of defiance, rolls it into a ball, and then interferes with the work of N________, sitting beside him. N________ hits back vigorously. Meanwhile R________ and S________ start a conversation with K________ across the aisle.

2.39 H________, who has been relatively quiet for some few minutes, working at the assignment, talks across the aisle to N________. F________, C________, and L________, who has shifted his seat next to C________, are all deep in conversation. J________ calls out for help on the meaning of a word, and I give it to him automatically, without stopping to enforce the rules about calling out. B________ comes from the back of the left hand row to talk to F________. On his way he swipes L________ across the back of the head. C________ tosses his magnet into the air, and motions to H________ further down the aisle to catch it. This time I get up and confiscate the magnet, amid an uproar of protestations. There is now general disturbance in the room as the lesson ends. I remind them to get on with their next period's work until the teacher comes.

2.40 As I leave the class to its own devices and walk along the corridor, pandemonium breaks out behind me as it usually does unless I stand in the doorway, and keep the boys subdued with threats of detentions and the like. Their next teacher is habitually late, and I cannot stay, as I know that the class to which I am going will also be unruly unless I get there quickly. This seems to be the lesser of two evils.

Comments

What is described in this account comprises about seventy five percent of the total interaction incidents that took place. The sheer number of simultaneous petty incidents made it impossible to record everything, and at the same time not disclose what I was doing. The value of the observations is limited to this extent, but, in general, the overall pattern of this lesson is very typical of others that I had supervised. As I was occupied in recording observations it was not possible to maintain the tight disciplinary control over the boys that was necessary, and to this extent the behaviours may have been worse than in other lessons I had supervised. At these, I spent all my time patrolling around the classroom keeping boys down to work, and squashing incidents before they generated too much trouble.

A further factor in the account should be noted. This involves the type of weather at the time, and the approaching Festival of *Rosh Hoshanah.* It is known that the former can have an effect on pupils' behaviour in class, and Form two may have been unduly affected by the blustery, bleak conditions. Regarding the latter, their teacher had earlier commented to me that the next two or three weeks would be bad for behaviour and noise, as the boys do not usually work at anything until their ceremonies are over. However, I had not noted such a tendency in other Forms to substantiate her comment.

The pattern of interaction incidents is very similar to that in Form one. There is constant activity, movement, and comings and goings. Numerous petty interruptions occur due to physical or verbal aggression. Even those boys, who manage to keep up some work, seem to have the need to accompany it with a monologue, or discuss the work with their neighbours. Only one boy in the whole class was able to work steadily throughout the entire lesson.

More than in Form one, certain boys are the focus of the frequent violence, aggression and interruptions. These are C________, H________, and O________. They are impervious to orders, and comply with them only under threats of severe punishment. Physical sanctions were out of the question, as far as I was concerned. Not only is punishment of this type inimical to good teaching, but in this school it could quite easily be labelled as anti-semitic persecution, as one of my colleagues had warned. But even threats produced short-lived results. All three had been put outside the door on numerous past occasions, yet within minutes were clamouring to be let in again, and by their interruptions, making themselves a worse nuisance than if they had been inside.

APPENDIX 6.3

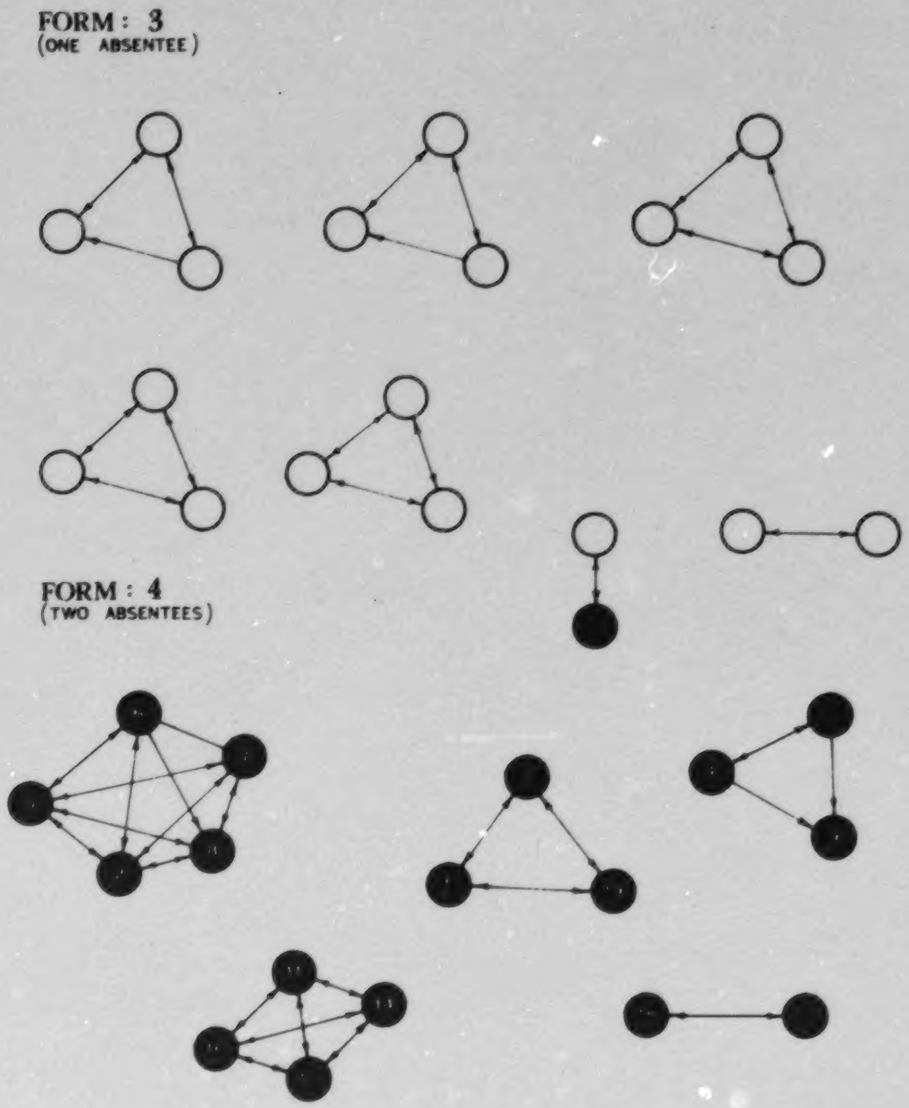
IMPROMPTU DISCUSSION TOPICS SUGGESTED BY BOYS IN FORM 4

1. Should Australia sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty or not?
2. Should Australia withdraw troops from Vietnam?
3. Should the voting age be lowered to sixteen?
4. Boxing - should we have it or not?
5. Whether teachers should go on strike
6. Should soccer or Victorian Rules football be chosen for the school sport?
7. Should the school acquire some sporting facilities?
8. Censorship
9. Prices of haircuts
10. Should a student be allowed to grow a beard in Form six
11. Should there be external or internal examinations?
12. Should Britain withdraw from South East Asia?

APPENDICES 7.1-7.5

SOCIOGRAMS ILLUSTRATING BOYS' PREFERRED PARTNERS FOR A VARIETY OF TASKS IN FORMS 3-5.

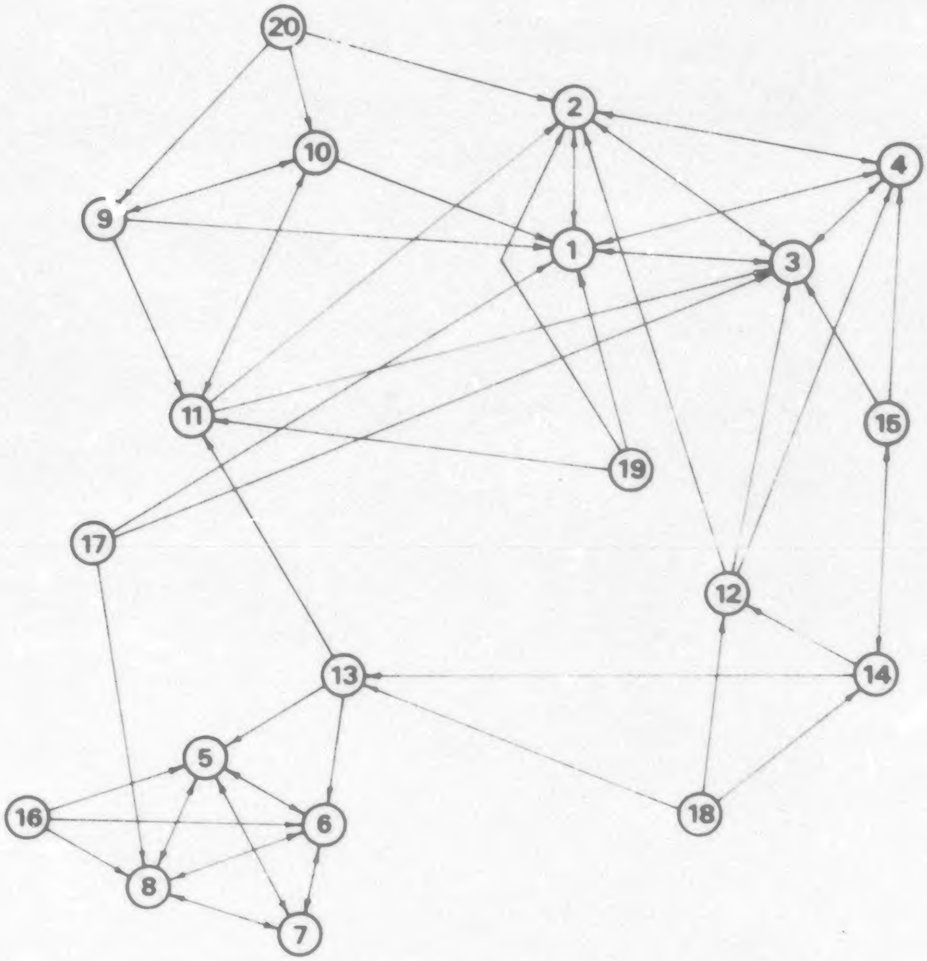
SOCIOGRAM SHOWING PREFERENCES FOR TAKING PART IN GROUPS TO CARRY OUT TOUR OF MELBOURNE SHOW – FORMS 3 & 4


FORM : 3
(ONE ABSENTEE)
FORM : 4
(TWO ABSENTEES)

N.B. NO RESTRICTION ON SIZE OF GROUPS – CHOICES NOT CONFIDENTIAL

Fig. A7.1

SOCIOGRAM SHOWING PREFERRED PARTNERS FOR TEAMS TO WORK ON GEOGRAPHY PROJECT — FORM 4


20
2
10
4
9
1
3
11
15
19
17
12
13
14
5
16
6
18
8
7

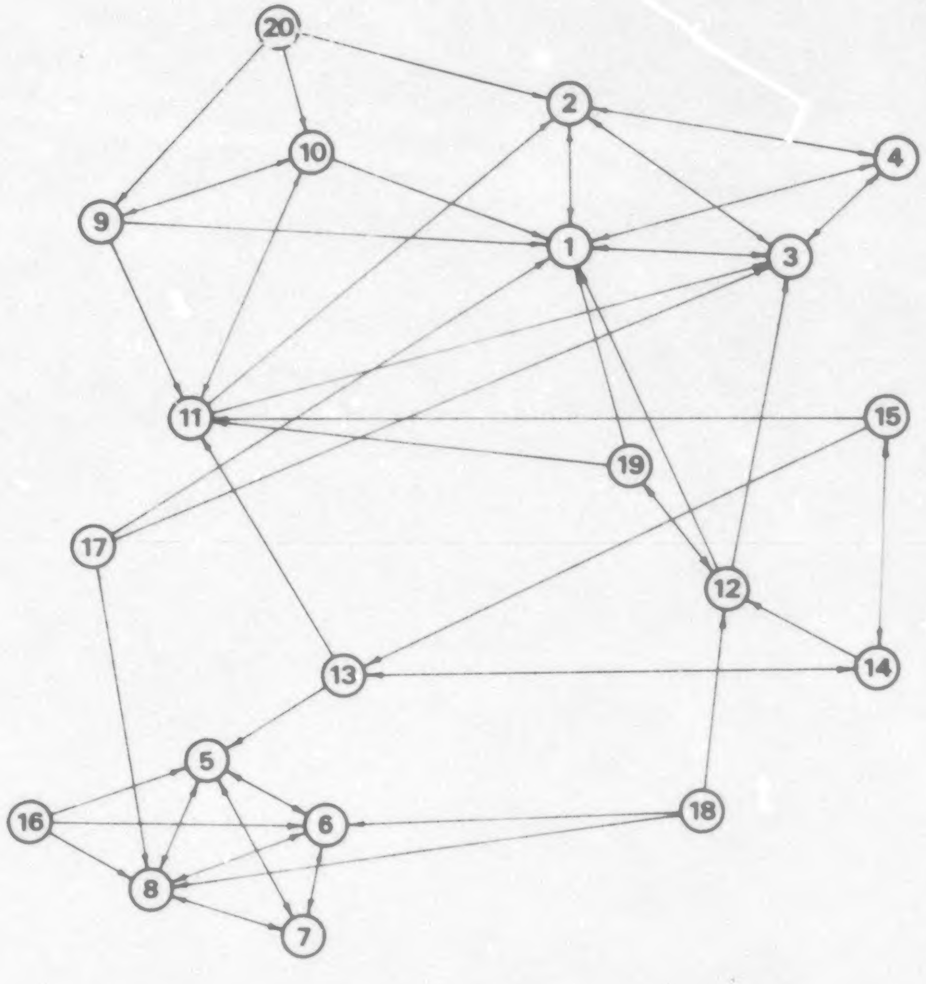
N.B. EACH BOY ASKED TO CHOOSE THREE OTHERS

——→ PREFERENCE

←——→ RECIPROCATED PREFERENCE

Fig. A7.2

SOCIOGRAM SHOWING PREFERRED PARTNERS FOR TEAMS TO TAKE PART IN AN EXTENDED GEOGRAPHY FIELD TRIP – FORM 4

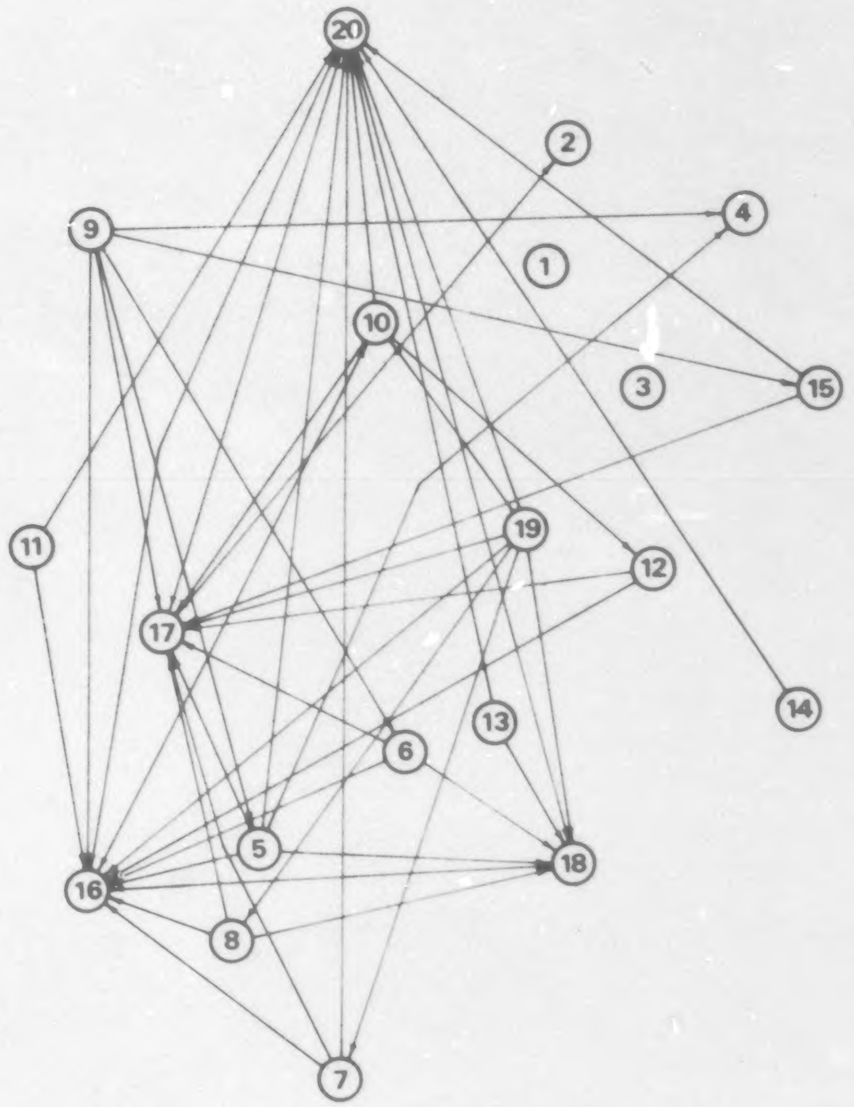

20
2
10
4
9
1
3
11
15
19
17
12
13
14
5
16
6
18
8
7

N.B. EACH BOY ASKED TO CHOOSE THREE OTHERS

PREFERENCE
RECIPROCATED PREFERENCE

Fig. A7.3

SOCIOGRAM SHOWING MARKED ANTIPATHY FOR FOUR BOYS IN RESPECT OF WORKING ON GEOGRAPHY PROJECT – FORM 4


20
2
9
4
1
10
3
15
11
19
12
17
14
13
6
5
18
16
8
7

N.B. EACH BOY ASKED TO STATE THOSE HE DID NOT WISH TO WORK WITH.

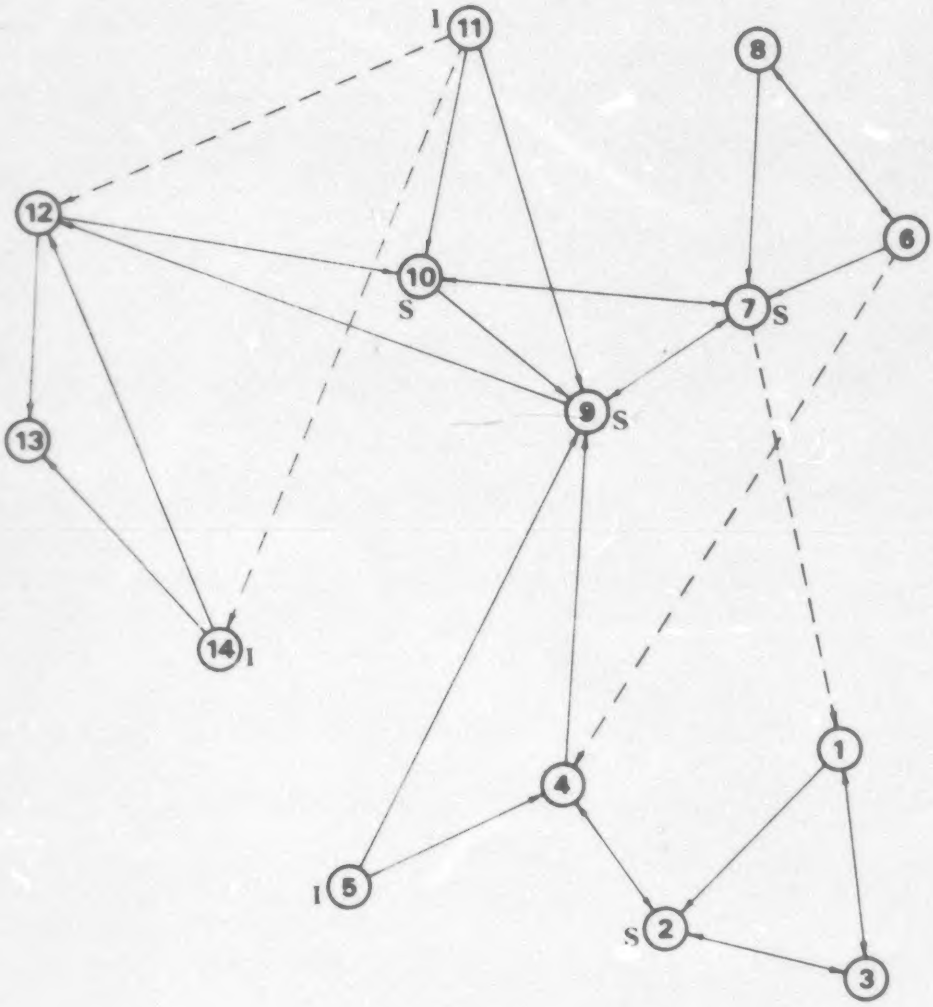
⑰ – 11 REJECTS
⑯ – 10 REJECTS
⑳ – 10 REJECTS
⑱ – 7 REJECTS

——→ ANTIPATHY

←——→ RECIPROCATED ANTIPATHY

Fig. A7.4

SOCIOGRAM SHOWING PREFERENCES FOR GEOGRAPHY FIELDWORK GROUPS – FORM 5


I 11
8
12
10
S
6
7 S
9 S
13
14 I
1
4
I 5
S 2
3

EACH BOY ASKED TO CHOOSE TWO OTHERS AND INDICATE ANY PARTICULAR AVERSIONS

——→ PREFERENCE

←——→ RECIPROCATED PREFERENCE S STAR

– – → AVERSION I ISOLATE

N.B. ONE ABSENTEE – A NOTED ISOLATE

Fig. A7.5

APPENDICES 8.1 - 8.3

DATA FROM THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES IN GEOGRAPHY PROJECT RELATING TO THE WORLDS OF OBJECTS CONSTRUCTED BY BOYS IN FORM 4

APPENDIX 8.1

OBJECTS IN THE WORLDS OF FOURTH FORM BOYS

Objects	Degree of importance (Number of mentions)			
	Least	Fairly	Very	Most
Places of worship				
Lubavitcher *shul*		1	2	9
Others	1	3	8	3
Totals	1	4	10	12
The School			1	19
Rabbinical College	1	2	8	
Mikveh		2		
Libraries				
Public	1	4	6	2
School	2	1	1	
Totals	3	5	7	2
Father's place of work		2	2	4
Relatives				
Home				7
Grandparents			3	1
Aunts & cousins			4	2
Others (not specified)	1	6	4	
Totals	1	6	11	10
Friends				
Personal	3	7	1	3
Neighbours	2		1	
Totals	5	7	2	3

APPENDIX 8.1 (continued)

Objects	Degree of importance (Number of mentions)			
	Least	Fairly	Very	Most
Recreation facilities				
Jewish sports centre	6	6	1	
Jewish youth groups	2	5	5	1
Squash & tennis courts	1	2		
Swimming pool	1	2		
Parks & gardens	7	3		
Neighbouring hills & Jewish guest house	3	1		
V.F.L. & V.F.A. grounds	6	1	1	
Cinema & Jewish theatre	1	1		
Bowling centre	1			
Totals	28	21	7	1
Services				
Major shopping centre		5	3	
Central business district	2			1
Local shops	1	1		1
Local Jewish shops			3	
Post offices & telephones	2	3	1	
Banks	1	1	1	2
Airport & travel agent	2			
Laundrymat	1			
Doctor, dentist & medical	6	5	5	3
Totals	15	15	13	7

APPENDIX 8.2

BOYS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SCHOOL COMPLEX

Function		Number of mentions
A. Functions associated with the Great Tradition		
1. Provision of facilities: *shul* for Sabbath and weekday worship; *selichot* prior to *Rosh Hoshanah*; and *kapparot* before *Yom Kippur*	Total	24
2. Location for religious studies:		
General religious education		7
Religious education during vacations		1
Religious education on Sundays		5
Advanced learning in Judaism at *Yeshivah Gedolah*		11
Talmudical discourses (*shiurim*) for senior students on Saturday afternoons		5
Introduction to Chassidus		1
Religious library		4
	Total	34
3. Location for weddings, *Bar Mitzvahs* and *Barmitzvah* lessons		10
4. Provision of ritual and ceremonial goods and services for specific occasions:		
Breakfast for those attending *Shacharis*		6
Mobile *succah* during *Succos*		19
Lulav and *esrog*; *lulav* Blessing Service during *Succos*		6
Succah covering material (*srach*)		13
Communal *succah* for boys and worshippers		5

APPENDIX 8.2 (continued)

	Function	Number of mentions
	Baking and supply of *shmurah matzah* under strict rabbinical supervision for *Pesach*	13
	Supply of Roman lettuce for *Pesach*	2
	Students on Holidays and Festivals (*yomim tovim*) e.g. *Simchas Torah*, to visit other *shuls* to liven up proceedings	8
	Shophar visiting service for sick on *Rosh Hoshanah*	7
	Total	79
5.	General provision of ritual goods, devotional literature etc.:	
	Phylacteries - centre for supply and ritual inspection of *tephillin*; *tephillin* campaign;	10
	Tzitzit sold	6
	Publications of Lubavitcher Movement - books and pamphlets	7
	Prayer Books in Ari edition	1
	Total	24
6.	Miscellaneous activities:	
	Annual fete on the Feast of Lots	2
	Bazaars	8
	Collection and distribution of goods for Opportunity Shop	13
	Youth Group (*Tzach*) activities	20
	Total	50

APPENDIX 8.2 (continued)

	Function	Number of mentions
B.	Functions associated with the Academic Tradition	
1.	Provision of secular schooling including pre-school and kindergarten	23
2.	Relationships with teachers' homes	3
3.	Photocopying service	8
4.	Tuck shop facilities, hot dogs	5
5.	Taxi transport to outlying suburbs	3
	Total	42

APPENDIX 8.3

FOURTH FORM BOYS' RANKING OF THE SOCIAL OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SCHOOL COMPLEX

(In order of importance based on mean rank)

Rank order	Social object	Number of mentions	Range of ranking	Mean rank
1	Students' homes	16	1-5	1.9
2	School Administrative Staff	6	1-4	2.3
3	Teachers' homes	17	1-6	2.9
4	Lubavitcher Movement and Headquarters	5	1-6	3.4
5	State Education Department	12	1-12	3.8
6	Homes of congregants	9	2-7	3.9
=7	Jewish Education Board	2	4	4.0
=7	Adjacent Girls School	2	2-6	5.0
=9	Jewish Welfare Societies	1	5	5.0
=9	Local City Council	2	5	5.0
=9	Local Library	2	5	5.0
12	*Yeshivah Gedolah*	5	4-7	5.2
13	Benefactors of School (donations)	3	3-7	5.3
14	Local Commonwealth Bank	6	3-9	5.8
15	State Electricity Commission	6	2-10	6.2
=16	University Library	2	7	7.0
=16	Rabbi's Library	2	7	7.0
=16	Jewish Organizations (Zionist etc)	2	7	7.0
=16	Tramways	1	7	7.0
=16	Bus Company	11	5-10	7.0
21	Taxi Company	11	4-11	7.1
22	Security Company guarding premises	4	3-13	7.8
23	General Post Office	8	4-12	7.9
=24	Farms for *matzah* wheat	2	8	8.0
=24	*Mikveh*	2	8	8.0

APPENDIX 8.3 (continued)

Rank order	Social object	Number of mentions	Range of ranking	Mean rank
26	Local Council Park	2	8-9	8.5
=27	Hospital	2	9	9.0
=27	Railway service	1	9	9.0
29	Other synagogues	9	5-14	9.1
30	Israel	2	9-10	9.5
=31	Suburban opportunity shop	2	9-11	10.0
=31	Gas & Fuel Corporation	5	6-12	10.0
=31	Duplicating Material Suppliers	4	6-14	10.0
34	City Bookstores	12	4-16	10.3
35	America	2	10-11	10.5
36	Local Jewish Shops supplying books and religious items	7	6-16	11.0
37	Insurance Company	5	8-16	11.4
38	Jewish Sports Centre	10	5-18	11.9
39	Jewish butcher supplying school	14	8-16	12.5
40	Local food suppliers	3	10-14	12.7
41	Milk suppliers to school	6	10-15	12.8
42	Local (Continental) shopping centre	2	13	13.0
=43	Local fruit suppliers	1	15	15.0
=43	Commonwealth Grants Authority	1	15	15.0
45	Metropolitan Fire Brigade (extinguisher inspections)	3	15-17	15.7
=46	Local Jewish bread shop	3	9-14	16.0
=46	Local photographer for school photos	1	16	16.0
48	Local milk bar	1	17	17.0
49	Local petrol service station	1	18	18.0

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